ISLAMIC CULTURE IN KASHMIR

BY

G.M.D. Sufi

ISLAMIC CULTURE IN KASHMIR

Islamic Culture in Kashmir

G. M. D. SUFI



LIGHT & LIFE PUBLISHERS
NEW DELHI JAMMU ROHTAK

Light & Life Publishers
2428, Tilak Street, Paharganj, New Delhi-110055
Residency Road, Jammu Tawi-180001 (J & K)
Delhi Road, Rohtak-124001 (Haryana)

First Edition 1979

150/=
Rs. 100.00

Published by N. Gopi Nath for Light & Life Publishers, and Printed by P.L. Printers, C3/19 Rana Pratap Bagh at Print India, Mayapuri, New Delhi-110064.

INTRODUCTION

It is a strange irony of fate that the Valley of Kashmir, once believed to be the original paradise of the human race, has had so many to describe its hills and vales and lakes, and its snows and streams and shades, but hardly any to narrate its history and tell the tale of what the valley gave to the world. Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* it is true, has attempted this task, but, at best, it would have remained, as it were, the *Shahnama of Kashmir* were it not for the industry of Sir Aurel Stein whose monumental translation with its notes and comments has enlivened its pages for the serious student of the early history of Kashmir.

Though Kalhana's Sanskrit *Chronicle* was continued by Pandit Jonaraja, Srivara and Prajyabhatta and Suka one after the other till the conquest of Kashmir by Akbar in A.D. 1586, and though there are several histories in Persian relating to pre-Mughal, Mughal and later periods, there is no reliable continuous record of the history of Kashmir which could serve as an impartial critical guide for the students of Kashmirian history.

Such students must have therefore deplored the paucity of an authentic record of the Happy Valley. It has occurred to me that an attempt at such a task may not altogether prove a vain attempt. In view, however, of Sir Aurel Stein's translation of Kalhana's *Chronicle*, which is now a standard work of its kind on the early history of Kashmir, I felt that a detailed account of that period, so eminently presented by Stein, would be, as it were, retraversing the same ground. Moreover, on account of my ignorance of Sanskrit and of the creeds and customs of Brahmins and other non-Muslims of Kashmir, I am unable to throw any light on that part of Kashmirian history. I have, therefore, confined my task to a somewhat fuller treatment of the Muhammadan period, leaving to an abler successor the completion of the history of Kashmir in recent times. Rather

than give a bare sketch of the doings of the kings of Kashmir during the period I have undertaken to discuss, it appeared to me to be more important to treat it from the cultural point of view. Therefore, though, I am presenting a somewhat continuous record of the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to our own, more prominent attention will be rivetted, in the following pages, on Islamic Culture in Kashmir.

In the first chapter, the reader will find a general description of Kashmir and Kashmiris, embodying the result of the latest research on the subject and the writer's own views on the character and condition of Kashmiris, based on close observation and careful study extending over several years.

In the second, an attempt is made to epitomize the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the advent of Islam, the propagation and influence of which is discussed in the third.

Chapter 4 deals with the indigenous Muhammadan rulers of the land and covers a period of about 250 years, roughly parallel in Indian history to the period from the accession of Muhammad Tughlaq to about the middle of Akbar's reign, or from the reign of Edward II to about that of the middle of Elizabeth in English history. The greatness of Kashmir reached its zenith under Zain-ul-Abidin, popularly known as Badh Shah or the Great Sovereign, who conquered Tibet and the Punjab and established his kingdom from Peshawar to Sirhind; and his rule from A.D. 1422 to A.D. 1474 justly constitutes the Golden Age of Kashmir in its early Mediaeval days. Zain-ul-Abidin was almost the contemporary of Khizr Khan and his descendants and Bahlol Lodhi one after the other, and his enlightened rule presents a striking contrast to the chaos and confusion then prevailing in and around Delhi.

The conquest of Kashmir by the Mughals and their rule extending over a period of 164 years is the subject of Chapter 5. Chapter 6 (Kashmir under the Afghans) brings Muslim Rule to a close in 1819. A broad general survey of *Islamic Culture in Kashmir* will be given in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 under the heads: Advancement of Learning under Muslim Rule, Arts and Crafts under Muslim Rule, and Civil and Military Organization under Muslim Rule. In these three Chapters the reader will find a summary of salient features of the impact of Islam on

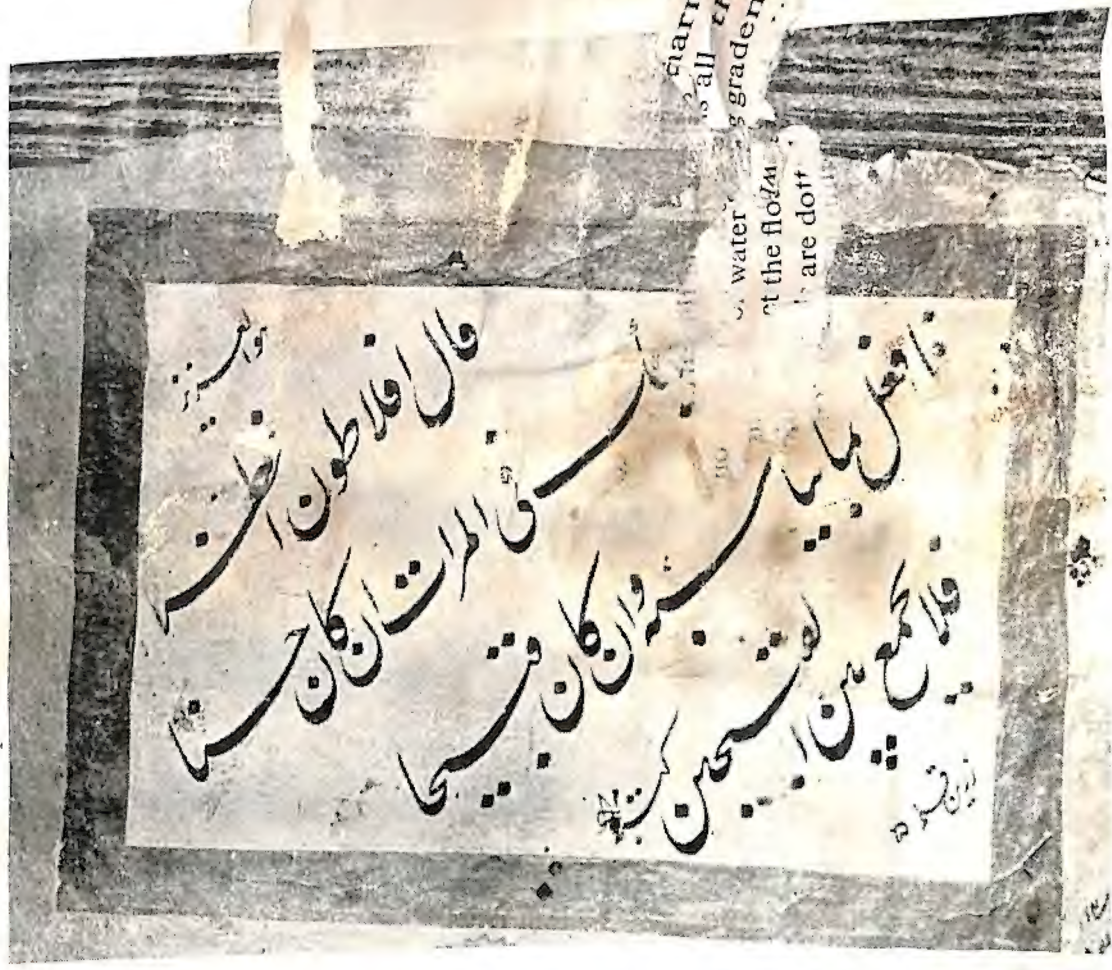
the people of Kashmir. Kashmir under the Sikhs-Chapter 10 and Dogras-Chapter 11 carries the narrative down to recent times.

A chart of some important contemporary events in politics and culture in the world during the period of Muslim rule in Kashmir has been added at the end. A perusal of this chart would not, it is hoped, be altogether uninteresting.

G. M. D. SUFI

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS



Specimen of calligraphy by the famous Kashmiri Calligraphist Mohammad Murad "Zarin Qalam"

1

Kashmir and Kashmiris

Kashmir has been described hundreds of times and copiously too, but Kashmir defies description. It is such a beautiful country blest with a fertile soil, glorious climate, grand mountains, fine rivers and lovely lakes and with such charming flowers and delicious fruits that it once enjoyed a great fame as the seat of the original[1] paradise of the human race. Though it is not the original paradise, it is certainly regarded as one of the most [illegible] spots upon [illegible] earth. In fact, it forms an isolated world now stan[illegible] one is inclined to think the most caught and crushe[illegible] destroyed, the[illegible] se each, in some particular, excels [illegible] ually [illegible] ch Kashmir is apt to be compared, says Young[illegible] and, is Switzerland. And Switzerland indeed has many charms, and a combination of lake and mountain in which it excels Kashmir. But it is built on a smaller scale. There is not the same wide sweep of snow-clad mountains. There is no place where one can see a complete CIRCLE of snowy mountains surrounding a plain of anything like the length (about 84 miles) and breadth (about 20 to 25 miles) of the Kashmir valley, for the main valleys of Switzerland are like the side-valleys of Kashmir. And above everything there is not behind Switzerland

1 *Historian's History of the World*, Vol. II, p. 485.

what there is at the back of Kashmir, and visible in glimpses from the southern side—a region of stupendous mountains surpassing every other in the world.

Take the instance of beautiful Greece with its purple hills and varied contour, its dancing seas and clear blue sky. But Kashmir is more beautiful than Greece, says Younghusband. "It has the same blue sky and brilliant sunshine, but its purple hills are on a far grandeur scale, and if it has no sea, it has lake and river and the still more impressive snowy mountains. It has, too, greater variety of natural scenery, of field and forest, of rugged mountain and open valley." "And to me," continues Younghusband, who has seen both countries, "Kashmir seems much the more likely to impress by its natural beauty."[2]

It has happened not infrequently that people have not been impressed with the Taj at first sight, but when they looked at it closer they realized the charm of Shah Jahan's 'dream in marble'. The same, in some cases, happens when the sceptical visitor goes to Kashmir. Let him first of all go up the Takht-i-Sulaiman in the morning and see what conversion the Dal immediately brings about. The sight is something grand, too grand for words to describe. The water is so clear that the reflections of the surrounding mountains are perfect. Chenars and willows, picturesque chalets, dark cypresses, blue distance, and snowy mountains make a picture hard to equal anywhere. The sceptic can no longer remain so : he must soon be vanquished by the graceful all[illegible] of the lovely lake. It is not one big sheet [illegible] water [illegible]g gradens the[illegible] prettier for that reason. Little canals inte[illegible]t the flo[illegible] and small islands, while villages and orchards [illegible]re dott[illegible]ed about its banks, which cover about five miles in length and two i[illegible] breadth.

Pages have been written in praise of the beautiful milky waters of Ganderbal, the gushing springs of Achhebal, Kokarnag and Verinag, of the fresh water-lakes of Manasbal and Wular, of the heights of Tragbal, the charms of Gulmarg and the tran-

2 The remarks of Younghusband have a special significance in that he has been resident of Kashmir for over 20 years, has widely travelled, and is the President of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

scendental joys of Alpatar. They have been described so often and yet they defy description.

Geological evidence, philological research and mythological tradition all agree that the Valley of Kashmir was once, perhaps a hundred million years ago, one vast lake hundred of feet deep. Kashmir legends say that a *Shakti* manifestation of Siva, called the Sati[3], appeared in the form of water; this *Shakti* is also named as *Parbati* and the place, where it appeared, came to be known as Sati-Sar, *i.e.*, the place where *Shakti Sati* took the shape of tarn of lake.

The legend runs that Kashyapa, the grandson of Brahma, found, when he reached Jullundur on a pilgrimage from the south, that all the country to the northwest had been laid waste by a *rakhshas* Jaledhbhava (water-born), who lived in the immense Sati Sar. Distressed at the havoc caused by Jaledhbhava and his imps, Kashyapa devoted himself to religious exercise, in consequence of which the Hindu Trinity, Brahma, Vishnu and Rudra, appeared to aid him. They found that Indra and other gods had several times before them attempted to annihilate the demons and succeeded in destroying not a few, but the demons escaped by hiding under water. Vishnu assuming the form of the Varah (pig) struck the mountains at Varahmula (modern Baramula) with his tail and cut up the remaining obstacles by his teeth. The waters of the lake rushed out, but the demon took refuge in the low ground near where Srinagar now stands and baffled pursuit for a time, but was finally caught and crushed to death by the gods. When Jaledhbhava was destroyed, the smaller demons lost heart, and the drained basin gradually became inhabited in summer. In winter, however, the people retreated to the drier and warmer regions to the south, leaving Kashmir to the demons. One winter an aged Brahman remained behind, taking up his quarters in a cave. He was seized by the demons and carried off to a place now known as Nilanag, where he was thrown into the lake. He sank to the bottom, but to his amazement he found it to be really a

3 Sati was the daughter of Daksa and the spouse of Shiva. She consumed herself in the sacrificial fire of Daksa's sacrifice, as he refused to invite Siva to take his share of offerings.

palace, in which was sitting the king, Nilanag, on his throne. He sought audience of this king and laid complaint before him of the rough treatment which he had received. The king was most gracious and gave him the *Nilamata-Purana* for his guidance, assuring him that if he obeyed the precepts of that book and made the offerings therein prescribed, the demons would cease to molest him. In the spring he was restored to the dry land. He carried out his instructions and imparted them to others. The result was that from that time people were able to remain in Kashmir during the winter and the demons ceased to trouble them.

The above story, legendary as it is, corresponds very closely with the results of geological observations. Long ago, in pre-historic times, the basin of Kashmir contained a lake much larger than that of today.[4] The sandstone rock at the western corner of the basin seems to have been rent by some cataclysm followed by attrition; and the lake was drained by the deepening of the Baramula gorge[5], which was the result of the slow process of

4 "The alluvial deposits filling up the basin of Kashmir were held by the earlier geologists to have been formed from the waste of the surrounding mountains, and to have been laid down at the bottom of a great lake. It has been stated that these deposits once covered the whole valley to a height of one thousand feet above its present level, and that the greater portion has been carried away by the Jhelum to the plains of the Punjab. The Wular lake which now measures 10 miles in length and 5 in breadth, was regarded by Montgomerie as a last relic of the great expanse of water which once covered all Kashmir. But this idea of a great pre-historic lake has been abandoned by Mr. R. D. Oldham who studied the *Karewas* and the present lakes of the Kashmir valley in 1903, and came to the conclusions that the *Karewas* are of fluviatile and not of lacustrines origin, and that there was never at any time a materially larger lake than at the present day." *A Sketch of the Geography and Geology of the Himalaya Mountains and Tibet* by Col. S. G. Burrard and H. H. Hayden, Part III, p. 169.

5 This natural geological event is approximately fixed by chronologists at about 2,666 B.C. The Samaritan Pentateuch dates the Deluge at 2,938 B.C., ordinary computation at 2,349 B.C.; the Drainage of Kashmir 2,666 B.C., is therefore clearly referable to the Mosaic Deluge. *Highlands of India* by Major-General D. J. F. Newall (1882), p. 27.

erosion by water, which must have taken hundreds of years to accomplish. At this period the climate was so cold, or the winter snows were so abundant and lasted so long, that the country could be inhabited only in summer by nomads who migrated southward in winter. In time, however, the climate became temperate and Kashmir came to be the abode of a permanent and prosperous agricultural community. Kashmir is supposed to have become permanently inhabited about the 20th century before the Christian era.

The old name *Sati-sar* was then replaced by *Ka-samir*, which in Sanskrit means land from which water has been drained off (*Ka*, water and *Sam-ir* the land from which water has been drained off). This is one theory.

The other theory—that Kashmir, really *Kasheer* as named by its inhabitants, was so-called on account of the settlement of a race of men called *Kash*[6], who were a Semitic tribe and founded what are now called the cities of Kashan and Kashghar—has yet to be properly investigated, as the origin of the word Kashmir from *Kash*, the race, and *ir* a suffix like *an* and *ghar* is not improbable. For it permits us to believe that the Kasia Regio and the Kasii Montes of Ptolemy, beyond Mount Imaus, were inhabited by this same race of Kash whose dominion at some period probably extended from Kashghar to Kashmir, in both of which they have left their name.

Hitherto it has been held that there was no Stone Age in Kashmir. But recent finds made after careful search seem to establish the existence of such an Age.[7]

The wide prevalence of Naga-worship before and even after

6 *See* Sir Lucas King's revised edition of the English translation of Babur's *Memoirs*, Vol. I, p. lxi. The acceptance of this theory would lead us to discard that which connects *Kash* with the Khasas of Himalayan hills and opens up quite a new field of research. Sir George Grierson has discussed the origin of Khasas in his *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IX, Part IV, pp. 2—8. My view is that *Kash* is the same as the Semitic Cush, Kosh or Kash and not the Aryan-speaking Khasas.

7 *The Stone Age in Kashmir* by Mr. G. E. L. Carter, I.C.S., p. 7. The collection of stone implements on which Mr. Carter has based his Note may be seen in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay.

the Buddhist period indicates that the first settlers in the Kashmir valley must have been the aborigines who had spread over the whole of India before the advent of the Aryans. Nothing is known as to the stage of civilization these aborigines had attained to when they entered Kashmir. Then came the wave of Aryan invasion from the North-West of India, though this is not accepted by scholars like Keith. As in the Punjab and Northern India, they mixed up with the aborigines and formed one people. They must have come in numbers large enough to put their own racial stamp on the people here.

The physical and ethnic characteristics which so sharply mark off the Kashmiri from all surrounding races have always struck observant visitors to the valley and led to several conjectures as to their origin. One such strong conjecture connects the Kashmiris with the Jews.

That the Jewish cast of features of many of the inhabitants of Kashmir has been noticed by scores of modern travellers goes without saying. Two leading authorities on Kashmir in recent times, whose profound knowledge of the land and its people can hardly be questioned, namely, Sir Walter Lawrence and Sir Francis Younghusband, have admitted the decided Jewish cast of faces among men, women and children. Sir Walter Lawrence[8] says that "the hooked nose is a prominent feature and the prevailing type is distinctly Hebrew". Sir Francis[9] says that "here man be seen fine old patriachal types, just as we picture to ourselves the Israelitish heroes of old. Some, indeed, say, though I must admit without much authority, that these Kashmiris are of the lost tribes of Israel. . . and certainly as I have said there are real Biblical types to be seen everywhere in Kashmir and especially among the upland villages. Here the Israelitish shepherd tending his flocks and herds may any day be seen." Bernier was hardly indefinite. He says,[10] "On entering the Kingdom after crossing the Pir-panjal mountains, inhabitants in the Frontier villages struck me as resembling Jews. Their countenance and manner, and that indescribable peculiarity

8 *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 318.
9 *Kashmir* (ed. 1917), pp. 129-30.
10 *Travels* (Smith's Edition), p. 430.

which enables a traveller to distinguish the inhabitants of different nations, all seemed to belong to that ancient people. You are not to ascribe what I say to mere fancy, the Jewish appearance of these villages having been remarked by our Jesuit Fathers and by several other Europeans, long before I visited Kashmir."

The opinion of Babur who conquered India in 1526 A.D., is that Kashmir may have taken its name from the men called Kas or Kash.[11]

Shah Hamadan, the great saint, who visited Kashmir in 1372 A.D., named it the "Garden of Solomon" (*Bagh-i-Sulaiman*).[12]

Alberuni (born in A.D. 973), talking about the inhabitants of Kashmir says[13] "They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country and therefore take always much care to keep a stronghold upon the entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence, it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people."

This statement of Alberuni is far too important to have been ignored by writers on Kashmir as it gives us the right clue for tracing the connection between the Kashmiris and the Jews.

The strong possibility of Jewish admixture in Afghan blood has never been denied. The researches of Sir George Grierson prove that the Kashmiri language belongs to the Dardic group and not to the Sanskrit, though it must be admitted that Sanskrit has considerably influenced the present Kashmiri Language. It is now definitely known that Pashto is a member of the Eastern branch of the Iranian family, and that the Kashmiri too belongs to the Iranian group or, to be more precise, Indo-Iranian group, hence, affinity can hardly be denied in the case of Pashto and Kashmiri. It must here be pointed out that the language as spoken in Kashmir is not called Kashmiri by the inhabitants but *Koshur* and the land, *Kasheer*.

11 *Memoirs of Babur*, King's Edition, p. 202.
12 Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, p. 238.
13 *India*—English edition by Dr. Sachau, Vol. 1, p. 206.

Now let us turn to another source for light. The Semitic tribe known as *Cush*, *Kosh* or *Kash*[14] (from the ancestor of the Babylonian Nimrod) lived in Western Iran (Genesis X 8). It does not seem to be improbable that this same tribe may have migrated further eastward and entered the Valley of Kashmir at some time which it is rather difficult to establish with precision. It is, to my mind, on this account that the land may have received its name *Kasheer* and the inhabitants *Koshur* (CF Ashur) just as Kashan and Kashghar must have received their names from the same tribe. For, otherwise there is no other rational explanation for the existence of distinctly Jewish faces in Kashmir. If the question were raised as to whether the modern Kashmiri language shows any Semitic mixture, there would be the counter-question as to whether the modern Pashto language has any mixture of the Hebrew language.

For this we shall refer the reader to Lieutenant (afterwards Major) H.G. Raverty's article in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* (Vol. XXIII, No. 6, 1854), entitled "Some remarks on the origin of the Afghan People and Dialect and on the connection of the Pashto Language with the Zend and Pehlavi and the Hebrew." In this article Raverty is inclined to consider Pashto as belonging to the family of Semitic dialects. But, however, in view of the latest researches which, by the way, may pale in the light of further researches on the subject, Raverty's view may not be accepted, but then Pashto, like the Semitic dialects has the *t'h* with a strong aspiration. "Like the Egyptians Jews, and as well as the Arabs, the Afghans uniformly give the hard sounds, *t'h*, *d'h*, *ds*, *dtz*, *dz*, etc., to those characters which the Persians have ever softened to *z* and *s*. . . . The vowels and consonants used in Pashto have the same powers as those of the Arabic, Hebrew and other Semitic dialects. Like them it has two genders—the masculine and feminine. . . . In common with the Hebrew, Arabic and Persian, it has the peculiar separable and inseparable pronouns, the latter being invariably attached to some preceding word, whether a noun, verb or particle . . . . The inflexions of the Afghanian verbs too are formed, inflexions are conjugated according to the Arabic and Hebrew system. . . .

14 *Encyctopaedia Brittanica*, Eleventh edition, Vol. 7, p. 666.

In many respects the Pashto syntax agrees with that of the Hebrew." (pages 579-580).

Some of the habits and customs of the Kashmiris are also distinctly Jewish, as for instance, very early circumcision of children, keeping of forelocks, almost general use of oil as an article of food in preference to *Ghee*, the sixth day celebration after childbirth. The existence of people near the mouth of the Indus immediately outside the eastern frontier of Kashmir, who believe in Elijah is another proof (*vide* Justice Kincaid's paper in the Anthropological Society's Journal, Vol. XIII, No. 3, 1925). No stronger evidence can, therefore, be adduced in support of this theory, which appears to be established from possible point of view.

In addition to the Jewish element, there is undoubtedly the strong admixture of the Indo-Aryan type And the extent of Indo-Aryan influence can be gauged from the magnitude of change wrought on the Kashmiri language by Sanskrit. That even in Hindu times Kashmir has been under foreign rule we have reason to assume, and the reign of these foreign dynasties has been accompanied also by settlements of immigrants of the same nationality, though it is not likely that these colonies were extensive.

It can, therefore, be maintained that the present population of Kashmir is an admixture of aborigines, Jewish, Aryan and some foreign elements. So much about the origin of the Kashmiri; let us now turn to his character.

That the Kashmiri is essentially mystical and imaginative. Those who have known him closely and studied him rightly will readily admit. That he is so, is what the environment has made him. Huge snowy peaks, flowing silvery streams, sublime solitudes have induced this frame of mind. The cult of Buddha, the teaching of the Vedanta, the Mysticism of Islam through Persian sources have, one after the other, found a congenial home in Kashmir. The *Pandit* and the *Pir* have striven hard to make him superstitious too. And the result is that mysticism and superstition are now ingrained in the very nature of the Kashmiri : in fact, he breathes in that very atmosphere, and almost fully justifies, to this day, the observations recorded by

Mirza Haidar[15] in about 1550 A.D. when he said that so many heresies have been legitimatized in Kashmir that people know nothing of what is lawful or unlawful. The so-called *Pirs* and *Sufis* are "forever interpreting dreams, displaying miracles and obtaining from the unseen information regarding either future or the past . . . consider the Holy Law (*Shariat*) second in importance to the True Way (*Tariqat*) and that in consequence the people of the 'Way' have nothing to do with the Holy Law." The observations of Mirza Haidar close with the following prayer—"May the most High God defend all the people of Islam from such misfortunes and calamities as this and turn them all into the true path of righteousness." The need of such a prayer must be equally felt even now and all that tends to *Pir Parasti* (saint worship) must be eradicated as com-pletely and as quickly as practicable if the Musalmans of Kashmir are to make any real advance in the world.

What a strange contrast does it present to the real teaching of Islam whose Prophet "disdains every power of wonder-working and ever rests the truth of his divine commission entirely upon his teachings. He never resorts to the miraculous to assert his influence or to enforce his warnings."[16]

The imagination of the Kashmiri has given some fine poetry to the world, which however has not yet been fully appreciated. In intellect he is perhaps the superior of any other Indian and is very quick in argument. The commonest Kashmiri can talk intelli-gently on most subjects and has a great aptitude for sarcasm, but like other artistic people, he is emotional and fond of exaggera-tion. He is fond of singing and song-birds too. Some of the songs sung in the rice-fields are full of poetical thoughts and the airs are sweet and plaintive. Though he is very loud and voluble and persistent, the Kashmiri is extremely quiet under visitations such as earthquake and cholera.

The Kashmiri can turn his hand to anything. He is an exce-llent cultivator and a fine gardener and has a considerable know-ledge of horticulture. He can weave excellent woollen cloth and can make first rate baskets. He can build his own house, can

15 *Tarikh-Rashidi*, English Translation by Elias and Ross, p 436.
16 Amir Ali's *Spirit of Islam*, p. 32.

make his own ropes. There is scarcely a thing, says Lawrence, which he cannot do. As a fine craftsman he may have a few equals in the world but probably none superior to him. The boatman of Kashmir, says Pirie, is as clever as the gondolier of Venice and would emerge safely from the riskiest of situations. The *Waza* is an excellent cook and would prepare perhaps fifty dainty dishes of meat alone, though his way of serving food does leave room for improvement. That the cuisine of the Punjabi has been largely influenced by the *Waza* admits of no question. The *Wain*—not a distinct class apart—is the *Bania*. The Kashmiri understands his own business and does not often make a bad bargain. Conservative he is, but not altogether impregnable to new ideas. He is kind to his wife and children, and divorce scandals or immorality among villagers, says Younghusband, are rarely heard of. He is hospitable and would entertain his guests most cheerfully. The Kashmiri is neither a murderer nor a marauder, and crimes against person and property seldom occur. He is no drunkard or opium-eater but absolutely sober and abstemious though he is an inveterate snuff-taker.

In many respects the Kashmiri cultivator resembles an Irishman, says Sir Walter Lawrence; he certainly possesses the quick wit which is so characteristic of the Irish and has a deep-rooted objection to paying rent. There are many points of resemblance between Ireland and Kashmir. Both are small countries which have suffered or derived benefit from the rule and protection of more powerful nations, yet have never welcomed any change or improvement. Both Kashmiris and Irish love a joke, are fond of harmless deception and are masters of good-humoured blarney. Both are kind to their children and the old folk. Both have the same disregard for the first priniciples of sanitation, continues Sir Walter, though the interior of a Kashmiri hut is probably cleaner than that of a similar class of dwelling in Ireland.

It has been asserted that "he is a coward, a liar and a dirty fellow". He is a coward because long oppression has made him so. His cowardice is extraordinary. Under the slightest fear the poor stay-at-home Kashmiri would tremble and quake, weep and howl. Not very long ago, it was commonly remarked in the Punjab that a Kashmiri would not dare use a gun. He

would throw it down in fear and say that "it would go off of itself". Natives of certain hilly tracts in Northern India have been found to be somewhat cowardly, but those who may have had occasion to observe coolies from Kashmir and coolies from other hills working together in Simla or Dalhousie must have noticed that the Kashmiri coolie is decidedly more cowardly than his hill-man compeer. In fact, the latter very often lords it over the former and assigns to him the more dirty or the more irksome part of the job. And yet it looks strange that the Kashmiri professional wrestler should be the terror of his opponent in the *Akharas* of India.

Again, "he is a liar because of the peculiar system of government which encouraged a most elaborate scheme of espionage". Cowardice and lying have, in turn, bred in him envy and malice, self-praise (*Thekun*) and condemnation of others. Pessimism, want of education and poverty have made him dirty. To my mind his dirtiness is the cause of his degradation in the eyes of an outsider. And I suppose a regular *Jehad* against his dirty habits is the one imperative necessity, though it must be remarked in passing that this habit of dirtiness is shared by the European in his own native land where he puts on clean clothes but does not keep the body equally clean, and dreads the bath either from the expense involved or the severity of the climate to which he finds himself exposed like the Kashmiri.

To sum up, "though superstition has made the average stay-at-home Kashmiri timid, tyranny has made him a liar, and physical disasters have made him selfish and pessimistic, and up to recent times the cultivator lived under a system of *Begar* or forced labour, and having no security of property, he had no incentive to effort, and with no security for life he lost the independence of a free man." But happily things are changing: the impact of modern life is having its effect and the influx of visitors and outside agencies are bringing about gradual awakening; and the future is therefore not without hope. For the Kashmiri has in him the qualities that can make a great nation as he has shown himself in recent times by his position as a learned jurist in U.P., a poet and philosopher in the Punjab, a territorial magnate in Dacca, a great reformer, an able administrator and a leading merchant-prince in other places. He has also taken part

in the Great War and in July 1924 showed his mettle by withstanding, quite unarmed, charges of the state cavalry at Srinagar.

The educated Kashmiri of the Punjab, Lucknow, Patna or Dacca holds his own against the most advanced Indian in intellect, culture and refinement, in general appearance, physique, and manly qualities.

2

A Brief Outline of the Pre-Islamic Period

(a) Suraj Bansi Dynasty

Tradition takes us as far back as the times of Rama Chandra, the hero of the *Ramayana*, who is said to have conquered and visited Kashmir, but nothing more is related. The tradition says that when the country was permanently inhabited, it was split up into numerous little kingdoms (*Kuttarajs*) founded by Brahmans, which began in course of time to fight among themselves with the result that they called in a Rajput (Daya Karan)[1] from the Jammu territory to restore order and rule the country.[2] Daya Karan was thus the first king of Kashmir and 55 *Rajas* of his line are said to have ruled here.

Gonanda I is the first in this line, from whose reign chronological history of Kashmir begins. His reign is dated 20 years before the Mahabharata war.[3] Gonanda I went to war with Krishna

1 Son of Puran Karan and grandson of Jambu Lochan, the founder of the Jammu town and of the Jamwal dynasty of Rajputs.

2 *The Gulab Namah*, p. 52. Some historians connect him with the line of the *Rajas* of Mathura.

3 "Kalhana takes as the starting point of his chronological calculations the traditional date indicated by Varahamihir's *Brhatsamhita* for the

on behalf of his relative Jarasamdha, King of Magadha, and laid seige to the town of Mathura, but was killed in the battle.

He was succeeded by his son Damodara I. Impelled by the desire to avenge his father's death, Damodara attacked Krishna at a Svayamvara held by the king of Chandhara, a territory lying on the banks of the Indus. Damodara was killed, whereupon Krishna installed the late King's pregnant widow Yasovati on the throne.

The queen bore a son who was placed on the throne as Gonanda II, while yet an infant. The Mahabharata was occurred soon after, and as the king of Kashmir was yet an infant, his alliance was sought for neither by the Kauravas nor by the Pandavas.

(b) Pandava Dynasty

Then came 35 kings one after the other, whose names and deeds, according to Kalhana, have been lost through the destruction of records. Hasan,[4] however, fills up the gap by allotting a rule of one thousand years to twenty-two

coronation of Yudhisthira, the Pandava hero of the epics. . . . The date of this legendary event is accepted by him also for the accession of Gonanda I, the first of the "lost" Kings of Kashmir, whose name, as we are told was recovered by the chronicler (or his predecessors) from the Nilmata-Purana. The exact reason for the equation of these dates is nowhere given. But it appears that the story as contained in the earlier version of the Nilamata, which Kalhana had before him, represented Gonanda I in a general way as a contemporary of the Kauravas and Pandavas." Dr. Stein's Introduction to Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, p. 59.

4 Zain-ul-Abidin (1423-74 A D.) is said to have instituted a search for ancient manuscripts, and copies of certain chronicles were found. Of these Kalhana's chronicles were by far the most important. But the history of thirty-five of the early Hindu kings was still missing. Subsequently an old manuscript was discovered written on birch-bark. This was called the *Ratnakar Purana* and was of especial interest, as it contained a record of those kings whose reigns were omitted from Kalhana's history. Zain-ul-Abidin had a Persian translation made but both this and the original have disappeared, though Hasan, a local historian of repute, is said to have obtained a copy of the translation.

kings of the Pandava dynasty. If we lend credence to the traditions prevailing among the present-day Kashmiris who would ascribe every old monument (*Pandavlarih*) to the Pandavas, Hasan's account may be given the value which attaches to the account of Kalhana up to the middle of the 8th century of the Christian era.

A scion of the Pandavas, Harandev, is said to have taken service with Gonanda II and risen to the office of Minister to the king. As often happened in those days, Harandev killed the old *Raja*, usurped the throne, and founded a dynasty of his own.

The second ruler of this dynasty, Ram Deo, is said to have been a great conqueror, having vanquished as many as 500 kings and brought under his sway the whole of India from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. He assessed land revenue at one-tenth of the gross produce, which was raised to one-fifth by one of his successors.

In the reign of Sunder Sena, twenty-second in the line, a great earthquake rifted the earth in the middle of the capital Samdhimat Nagar, and the whole city was submerged along with its king and inhabitants. The site of the city is now occupied by the Wular Lake. Lava, chief of Lalab, was then elected king.

(c) Maurya Dynasty

We may pass over the next twenty kings whose names, but no deeds, have been preserved, and come down to Asoka. In spite of a number of surmises to the contrary, there is a consensus of opinion among the historians that Asoka of Kashmir history was the Emperor Asoka of Magadha, who reigned from 272 B.C. to 231 B.C. and whose dominions extended eastward to Bengal and westward to Hindukush.[5] Ashoka was a Buddhist and erected many *Viharas* and

5 The chronological position and genealogical relations of Asoka of Kashmir as stated by Kalhana show him to have been different from the Asoka of India and to have existed about a thousand years before the latter. But Kalhana's chronology before the ninth century of the

Stupas. He acted on the policy of religious toleration and patronised all other religions. One of the greatest lessons that he taught to his people was to "overcome all lassitude" and he never spared himself any pains. This description of the Emperor Asoka agrees entirely with that given by Kalhana.

The Emperor Asoka's rule in the Kashmir is the first great landmark in the history of this country. It was governed through a deputy who had his seat of government at Taxila.[6] Asoka built the original town of Srinagar, at a site three miles above the existing capital, now occupied by a small village called Pandrethan,[7] "Old capital". "He had broken through the fetters of Brahmanism and established a friendly intercourse with Greece and Egypt, and it is to this connection that the introduction of stone architecture and sculpture in Kashmir is due." Buddhism has very deeply affected the Kashmiri character. The extraordinary patience that the Kashmiri shows under the severest visitations of nature such as cholera and earthquake is clearly traceable to Buddhist influence. The outside appearance of most of the shrines is not unlike Buddhist *pagodas.* Buddhism lingered on in the valley right up to the time of Kalhana who was himself a great admirer of Buddha though he was a Shivaite.

Asoka was succeeded by Jalauka, whom, perhaps from the

Christian era is absolutely unreliable, while his genealogical connections are mere attempts at arranging kings in one line of descent (*vide* Dr. Stein's *Introduction to Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, p. 64.)

In the time of Jalauka, the alleged son and successor of Asoka, the Buddhists are stated by Kalhana to have been "powerful and flushed with success". History tells us that it was Asoka who raised Buddhism from the status of a local sect to one of the great religions of the world, and it was he who sent missionaries to Kashmir. If we accept the chronology of Kalhana, we shall have to place Asoka of Kashmir at least a thousand years before the date of the Emperor Asoka, and we also stand a fair chance of falling into ridiculous anachronism of introducing Buddhism into Kashmir fully eight centuries before its founder was born. *Vide* Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of *Rajatarangini*, p. 64.

6 *Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, p. 164, 3rd ed. 1914.

7 Original Purana-Dhisthana (Dr. Stein's Translation of *Rajatarangini*, Book 1. p. 19).

phonetic similarity of names or from the close succession of one by the other, Kalhana states to be the son of the former. His name, however, is quite unknown in Indian History.[8] He might have been a native king of Kashmir, having come to the throne by a *coup de main*.[9] During Asoka's later years, the country was harassed by *Malechas*, probably the restless Mongolian horde from the steppes of Central Asia who were always on the move in search of new homes. The strong hand of the Emperor was soon after removed by death. The difficult nature of the surrounding country and the cares of an already unwieldy empire might have kept his successor from any attempts at its recovery. At any rate, there was anarchy and confusion in Kashmir, and it was time for the native adventurer, Jalauka, to try conclusions with the foreign depredators, in which he was successful. Jalauka was a popular hero and a worshipper of Siva. At first an opponent of Buddhists, he became finally friendly to them. He is said to have conquered Kanauj and Ghandhara and brought lawyers and other people from those parts to settle in the country. Here Kalhana gives a clue to the administration of the country. We are told that up to his time the government consisted of seven main State Officials—the Judge, the Revenue Superintendent, the Treasurer, the Commander of the Army, the *Purohita* and the Astrologer. Jalauka increased this number to eighteen[10] of whom no details are, however given.

Jalauka was succeeded by Damodara II who was transformed into a snake by the fury of the Brahmans, on account of his refusal once to give them food before he had taken his bath.

8 *Early History of India* by V. A Smith, pp. 191-92, 3rd ed. 1914.

9 Similar to that by which Chandra Gupta Maurya, taking advantage of the utter confusion and anarchy that prevailed in western India, on the return of Alexander the Great, established the Maurya Empire on the ruins of the small states shattered by the great Macedonian conqueror.

10 These eighteen officers evidently correspond to the "eighteen Tirathas" or court officials mentioned in *Mahabharata* II, V. 38. (Dr. Stein's *Commentary of the Rajatarangini*, First Book, verse 120, foot-note 120, pp. 22-23).

He is still believed to be haunting the Damodar-Udar[11]—an arid alluvial plateau about seven miles south of Srinagar. It was constructed by himself to serve as a dam to bring water to his town of Guddasuth, now a small village situated on the plateau.

(d) Kushan Dynasty

We may now come to the movements of the Yueh-Chi, a Turkish race who had established themselves in the Valley of the Oxus and overturned the Greek Kingdom of Bactria in the second century before Christ. The vanquished people moved southward and conquered the whole of Northern India which they retained till they were overpowered and extinguished by the Kushan section of the Yueh-Chi.

In about A.D. 15 Kadphises I, chieftain of the Kushan clan of the Yueh-Chi, welded together all the sections of the Yueh-Chi nation, and conquered Afghanistan. He was succeeded about A.D. 45 by his son Kadphises II, who sent an army across the Karakoram Pass or Taghdumbash Pamir to conquer Eastern Turkestan, but the expedition ended in disaster, and he was compelled to pay tribute to China. He subsequently conquered North-Western India as far as Benares.

Kanishka succeeded him in A.D. 78 and extended his empire as far south as the Vindhyas and upper Sindh. He annexed Kashmir and with this we reach once more the *Terra Firma* of historical record in the annals of this country. He was a Buddhist by faith and had his capital at Peshawar where the remains of his monuments have been recently exhumed. He erected numerous monuments in Kashmir, and built the town of Kanishkapura, the modern Kanispore.[12] Under his patronage the

11 The Damodara *Karewa*. *Udar* is the Kashmiri word for the *Karewa* (plateau).
*Vincent A. Smith presumes that it was Kanishka and not Kadphises II whose armies fought against China *Vide* his *Early History*, p. 253, third edition.

12 Dr. Stein's Translation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*, Book First, p. 30. foot-note 168.

Third Council of the Buddhist Church was held, which carried on its deliberations in Kashmir in about 100 A.D. and drew up the Northern Canon or "Greater Vehicle of the Law".

The Great Boddhisattva, Nagarjuna, lived in his time at Harwan.[13] Kanishka conquered Kashghar, Yarkand and Khotan, then dependencies of China.

It is probable that Vasishka and Huvishka who were the sons of Kanishka, acted in succession as Viceroys,* but it appears that Vasishka predeceased his father who was succeeded in his whole empire by Huvishka in 123 A.D.

Huvishka founded Havishkapur, the modern Ushkura, a small village near Baramula. His rule lasted till about 140 A.D.

He was succeeded by Vasu-Deva, also called Jushka. He died in about A.D. 178, when the Kushan rule came to an end in Kashmir. The dynasty, however, lasted in Kabul and the Punjab till they were swept away by the Hua invasion in the 5th century A.D.

Jushka was succeeded by Abhimanyu in whose reign Buddhism received a check in Kashmir.

(e) Gonandya Dynasty

Abhimanyu was followed by Gonanda III, the founder of the Gonandya dynasty.

Gonanda III revived Brahmanism and a reaction against Buddhism began. King Nara, the sixth in the line, is said to have burnt down thousands of *Viharas*. From this time forth Buddhism went on declining steadily.

(f) White Huns

We may pass over the next four kings and come down to Mihirakula, the White Hun. who came to the throne of Kashmir in

13 According to some Buddhist records, Menander the Bactrian King of Northern India (155 B.C.) delighted in controversies with Nagarjuna, (*Ancient India* by R. C. Dutt, p. 119); but local historians are silent about Menander.

*Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India*, third edition, p. 270.

528 A.D. Under his father Toramana, the Hun empire had been established in the latter half of the fifth century in Afghanistan and Western India.[14] Mihirakula succeeded in 510 A.D., his capital being Sakala in the Punjab, which may presumably be identified with Sialkot or with Sangla Hill in the Sheikhupura District of the Punjab. He was "a man of violent acts and resembling death," whose approach the people knew "by noticing the vultures, crows and other birds which were flying ahead eager to feed on those who were to be slain". His revolting acts of cruelty became so unbearable that the native princes formed a confederacy, and under the leadership of Baladitya of Magadh and Yasudharman of Central India inflicted a decisive defeat on him in 528 A.D. Mihirakula fled to Kashmir where he was kindly received by the king and placed in charge of a small territory. He repaid his kindness by seizing his throne and putting him to death. Then issuing from Kashmir, he attacked and conquered Gandhara and drowned multitudes of people in the Indus. Kalhana depicts him in the blackest colours of cruelty as being surrounded day and night by thousands of murdered human beings. On one occasion, he is said to have slaughtered "three crores of women of respectable birth". He delighted in acts of cruelty and people still point to a ridge, Hastivanj, on the Pir Panjal range near Aliabad Sarai, where the king, to amuse himself, drove one hundred elephants over the precipice, enjoying their cries of agony. He favoured Brahmans, and bore enmity against Buddhism. He committed suicide about the middle of the fifth century, overpowered probably by the sense of his own misdeeds.

It was during these troublous days of the Huns, it is believed, that Kalidas[15] was born in Kashmir.

14 White Huns or Ephtihalites came originally from Eastern Turkistan (*vide Early History of India* by V. A. Smith, pp. 309-310, 3rd Edition, 1914).

15 Pandit Lachhmidhar, M.A., M.O.L., *Shastri*, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Delhi, in his University lecture during the month of March, 1925, on "The birth place of Kalidas" has brought forth fresh material in favour of the view that Kalidas, one of the greatest poets of India, was a native of Kashmir, and that he flourished during the latter half of the 5th or the first half of the 6th century

The last of the Gonanda line, Yudhisthira I, was a worthless ruler and was turned out by his own subjects who called in a foreign king, and Kashmir went under the suzerainty of Vikramaditya Harsha of Ujjain.

On the death of King Harsha, about the third quarter of the sixth century, Kashmir was conquered by Pravarasena II, a prince of Malwa who ruled in 580 A.D. The present city of Srinagar was founded by him. His dynasty lasted for about half a century, the last of the line, Baladitya, dying without male issue.

(g) Karkota Dynasty

The throne devolved upon Baladitya's son-in-law, Durlabha Vardhana, who was of humble origin. He was the founder of the Karkota dynasty.

With the establishment of the Karkota Dynasty, we reach firm ground of somewhat authentic history. Durlabha Vardhana reigned from 627 to 663 A.D. The visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang to Kashmir (631-633 A.D.) occurred during the

A.D. The date is assigned to Kalidas on the basis of his reference to the Huns in Kashmir in the *Raghuvanca*. It is pointed out that Kalidas left his home in Kashmir during the unsettled days of its occupation by the Huns, and in keeping with Kashmirian instincts he travelled throughout the length and breadth of the country, halting perhaps much longer at Ujjain than at other places. The following points raise a strong presumption in favour of the view that Kalidas was a native of Kashmir :

(1) His affectionate description of the rice-fields and the songs associated with the rice-fields.

(2) His description of a living saffron plant which is grown in Kashmir and which no other non-Kashmirian writer is known to have described. The practice of painting the ladies' breasts with the saffron paste so frequently mentioned by Kalidas was also a real practice in ancient Kashmir.

(3) His description of the Deva-daru forests, lakes, tarns, glades, caves with lions, musk deer on the higher altitudes of the mountains all point in the direction of Kashmir as the home of Kalidas.

The following arguments give a strong indication that Kalidas was a Kashmirian *by birth* :

time of this king who accorded a hospitable reception to the pilgrim. Hiuen Tsiang found that "this kingdom is not much given to faith, and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought". The country was prosperous and peaceful. The political power of Kashmir extended to all the adjacent territories on the west and south including Rajapuri (Rajauri), Parmotsa (Punch), Bhimbar, Urasa (Hazara), Taxila and Sinhapura, which seems to have included the Salt Range.

Durlabha Vardhana's son and successor, Durlabhaka Pratapditya, ruled for fifty years from 663 to 713 A.D. This was the time of Chinese progress towards the west, during which Turkistan and Western Tibet were conquered and annexed to the Celestial Empire.

Durlabhaka's son, Chandra Pida, who came to the throne in 713 A.D., sent an embassy to the Emperor of China, from whom he received the investiture of kingship, becoming a feudatory of the Emperor.

He was succeeded in 721 A.D., by his younger brother,

(a) Kalidas refers to some sites of minor importance in Kashmir which were up to this time considered as imaginary, but modern researches have identified these sites with their ancient names. The sites are only of local importance and could not be known to one who was not in close touch with Kashmir.

(b) Kalidas in his description of Kashmiri in the Sakuntala refers to the lacustrine origin of Kashmir, which is commonly known to Kashmirians only. He shows his partiality for Kashmir.

(c) Reference is made to certain Kashmirian legends such as that of 'Nikumbha' which are known only to the Kashmirian writers.

(d) The personal religion of Kalidas was the Kashmiri 'Saivism' based on the doctrine of the *Pratyabhijna* philosophy unknown outside Kashmir. It is a remarkable discovery that the drama of Sakuntala is an allegory of the tenets of the *Pratyabhijna* philosophy of Kashmir.

(c) The argument of the *Meghaduta* points to Kashmir as the home of Kalidas.

The above arguments are fully set forth by Pandit Lachhmidhar in his paper which is expected to be out before long.

Tara Pida, who ended his days in 725 A.D. after a cruel rule of 4 years.

Then came the glorious rule of Lalitaditya-Muktapida, the youngest son of Pratapa-Ditya. He is the hero of vast conquests. Kalhana shows him to be the universal monarch, moving round the earth like the sun. He certainly subjugated parts of the Punjab and defeated and dethroned Yasovarman of Kanauj[16] in 740 A.D. He also brought the well-known poet Bhava-Bhuti, who hailed from Vidharaba (Berar), to grace his own court.[17] Before this he had led a successful expedition against the Bhotes of Baltistan whom he defeated on the banks of the Indus. In 733 A.D. he sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor Hiuen Tsung to report his victories over the Tibetans and also to solicit the establishment of a camp of Chinese troops by the banks of the Wular lake. But the "Divine Khan" contented himself with merely ordering a sumptuous entertainment of the ambassador and with investing Muktapida with the title of king. The king also conducted a successful invasion of the Valley of the Oxus. The chiefs of Jullundar, Kangra and Punch were among his feudatories. He is "the most conspicuous figure in Kashmir history; he raised his country to a pitch of glory it had never reached before or attained to since". The ruins of the temple of Matanda (Martanda) and of his city, Parihasapura, near the present Shadipur, bear eloquent testimony to his greatness. Extensive drainage works were carried out under his orders, and vast areas were reclaimed and made fit for cultivation. He raised the number of court offices from 18 (*vide* Julauka) to 23, the five new offices being : that of High Chamberlain, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Master of the Horse, Keeper of the Treasury and Chief Executive Officer. His end is enveloped in mystery. He died probably during an expedition towards the north.

When engaged in his last expedition, he sent out wise advice to his Kashmiri subjects, and warned them against internal dissen-

16 *Early History of India* by V.A. Smith, p. 372., 3rd edition, 1914.

17 *Ancient India* by R.C. Dutt, pp. 149-50.

sion, and against neglecting to keep the forts in repair and well provisioned. Dwellers in mountains should be occasionally punished to prevent their becoming strong and troublesome. "Every care should be taken that there should not be left with the villagers more food supply than required for one year's consumption, nor more oxen than wanted for the tillage of their fields. Because if they should keep more wealth, they would become in a single year very formidable *Damaras* (feudal lords) and strong enough to neglect the commands of the king." Cultivators' style of living must be lower than that of the city people. Offices should not be held by family cliques, and troops should not be raised from a single district.[18] Lalitaditya's rule ended in 753 A.D. and was followed by four short and weak reigns.

These were followed by the 31 years' powerful rule of Jaiyopida, a grandson of Lalitaditya-Muktapida, who came to the throne in 764 A.D. He went on a conquering expedition to the valley of the Ganges where he defeated the king of Kanauj. He had, however, to come back soon as his throne had been usurped in his absence by his brother-in-law. The king was a liberal patron of learning and many poets and scholars flocked to his court. Towards the end of his reign he became a cruel and rapacious tyrant. Many temples were robbed of their valuables and deprived of their estates. The cultivators were rack-rented and at times the whole of their produce was taken away by him. He was followed in 795 A.D. by an indolent and extravagant prince who in a twelve years' rule squandered away the riches so cruelly amassed by his father.

(h) Utpala Dynasty

The history of the next half century is a record of the instalation and dethronement of puppet kings and of the jealousies and intrigues of rival factions at the court, till we come to the reign of Awanti Varman (857-883 A.D.) the founder of the Utpala dynasty. During the concluding years of the Karkota dynasty, the hill country towards the south of

18 Dr. Stein's English Translation of *Rajatarangini*, Book IV, verses 345-52, p. 154.

the Panjal range had thrown off its allegiance to the Kashmir throne, and small independent kingdoms had sprung up at Rajauri and other places. The kingdom of Kashmir was restricted to its natural boundaries, extending only to four marches below Baramula. Awanti Varman wisely refrained from undertaking foreign conquest and bestowed his whole attention on the internal consolidation and development of the country which had greatly suffered econmically and politically from the disorders of the preceding reigns.

The country had been liable to heavy floods and famine; the Kashmir valley was in a water-logged condition and cultivation was poor. Awanti Varman's able Engineer, Suyya undertook to drain the valley. He saw, as did the modern engineers in our own day, that floods in the valley were due to the fact that the constructed passage of the Jhelum through the Baramula gorge had been blocked up by boulders brought down into it by a neighbouring *nullah*.[19] This obstruction was removed by Suyya, and the result was a large increase of land available for cultivation and increased protection against floods. He then carried out other extensive drainage and irrigation works under the orders of the king and it is no wonder that the native historian exults over the economic prosperity of the land which was the direct result of these engineering schemes. The modern village Sopore, founded by him at the point where the Jhelum, since he regulated its course by laying out a new bed for it, leaves the Wular lake, commemorates the name of this great engineer. The memory of the king is preserved to this day in the town of Avantipura which lies one march above Srinagar. The ruins of the ancient buildings at Avantipura are, according to Dr. Stein, among the most imposing monuments of ancient Kashmiri architecture, and sufficiently testify to the resources of the builder.

His son and successor, Samkara-Varman (883-902 A.D.) distinguished himself by introducting an ingenious scheme of fiscal oppression. He plundered the treasures of the temples and had no conscience for unlimited and ruthless extortion. To perpetuate his memory, he built the town of Pattan and its temples

19 *The Pulse of Asia* by E. Huntington, pp. 39-40.

from the materials he had obtained by the plunder of the town and temples of Parihasapura. But the town did not flourish. He invaded the territories of Rajauri, Gujrat, Kangra, and Hazara, but without any permanent effect, as his kingdom after all remained restricted within its natural boundaries. He died during his expedition to Hazara.

"From this reign onward the record is one long succession of struggles between the rulers and usurping uncles, cousins, brothers, ministers, nobles and soldiers." During the century following 902 A.D. the kingdom changed hands between as many as eighteen rulers, and the country was harassed by the oppressions of the nobles and ministers, save for a short respite that the country enjoyed under Yasakara's mild rule of nine years (939-948 A.D.). Utter confusion and anarchy prevailed. Most of the rulers were "addicted to many vices".

(i) First Lohara Dynasty

Queen Didda (950-1003 A.D.) a lady of the house of Lohara[20] a woman of unscrupulous but forceful character, first as Queen Consort (950-959 A.D.), then Regent (959-980 A.D.) and ultimately sovereign for 23 years, misgoverned the unhappy country for half a century. She ruthlessly put down all rival parties, executing captured rebels and exterminating their families. The result was that the throne passed over without any contest or convulsion to Samgrama Raja (1003-28 A.D.), the founder of the Lohara dynasty, a nephew of Didda, whom she had nominated in her own lifetime. The nominee, however, was a weak person and his reign is noticeable only for an invasion of Kashmir by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in 1015 A.D.; and although Kashmiri troops were defeated by the invader, the Sultan had to retire owing to inclement weather and the inaccessibility of the mountain barriers. Samgrama Raja was succeeded by Hari Raja who after a reign of 22 days

20 Modern Lohrin, a valley in Punchilaka. Queen Didda was from her mother's side a grand-daughter of king Bhima Sahi of Udabhanda, who is mentioned in Al-beruni's list of the "Hindu Shahiyas of Kabul". The Shahi kingdom was destroyed by Mahmud of Ghazni. (*vide* Dr. Stein's Introduction to the *Rajatarangini*, p. 104.)

was succeeded by Hari Ananta. A rebellion of *Damaras*, the feudal lords, was bravely put down by king. He scored a victory over the Raja of Chamba, but his expedition against the hill state of Hazara proved an ignominious failure. He was personally weak and much of his success in government was due to his pious and strong queen Surya Mati. She wanted the government of the country to be in stronger hands. So, on her advice, Ananta abdicated in favour of his son Kalasa (1063-1089 A.D.) who was given to the company of depraved and dissolute associates. Although the people suffered much from his cruelty, he was able to make his power felt by the surrounding states from Hazara to Chamba. His successor enjoyed the regal state only for 22 days and was succeeded by Harsa (1089-1101 A.D.). In person, Harsa was of powerful frame, great personal beauty, courageous and fond of display. He was well-versed in various sciences and a lover of music and arts. But his mind was rather demented and his character was a jumble of contrasts. "Cruelty and kind-heartedness, liberality and greed, violent self-willedness and reckless supineness, cunning and want of thought—these and other apparently irreconcilable features in turn display themselves in Harsa's chequered life."[1] His early rule was characterised with prudence, and his munificence towards men of learning attracted many scholars from other countries. His elaborate fashions, dresses and ornaments and his multifarious extravagances, however, soon involved him in heavy debts, to rescue himself from which he took of the spoliation of temples. He robbed them of their treasures; but he did not stop there. His tendencies led him on to the confiscation of divine images in order to possess himself of the valuable metal of which they were made. He was further reduced to the necessity of levying new and oppressive imposts. Even nightsoil became the object of taxation. He abandoned himself more and more to excesses and follies of all kind. The country was visited by many calamities. Plague reduced the population; robber bands infested the roads, and flood occurred which brought famine and universal distress. But the fiscal exactions of the king continued unabated. The

1 Dr. Stein's English Translation of the *Rajatarangini*, Introduction, p. 121.

result was that his armies were humiliated abroad, and he was surrounded by conspiracies at home. At last he was killed in 1101 A.D., and his body, "naked like that of a pauper," was cremated by a compassionate wood-dealer.

(j) Second Lohara Dynasty

Uccala succeeded him and broke down the power of *Damaras* by turning one against the other and finally crushed them one by one.. There was again conspiracy against the king, and he was killed in 1111 A.D.

The history of the following two centuries is a sordid record of short reigns, murders, suicides, plots, conspiracies, rebellions, oppressions and fiscal exactions. To quote Sir Francis Younghusband : "We may accept, then, as authentic that the normal state of Kashmir for many centuries, except in the intervals when a strong, firm ruler came to the front, was state of perpetual intrigues and assassinations, of struggles with brothers, cousins, uncles, before a chief even came to the throne; of fights for power with ministers, with the the military, with the "nobles" when he was on it; of constant fear; of poisoning and assassination; of wearying, petty internecine "wars"; of general discomfort, uncertainty and unrest." Uccala's successor reigned only for a night, and his half brother only for 4 months. The rule of his brother, Sussala (1112-20 A.D.) was one succession of internal troubles caused by rebellious feudal lords (*Damaras*). In A.D. 1120 he had to flee to Punch in the face of a rebellion. He was, however, restored in 1121 A.D. to the throne and power by pretenders and nobles. The king tried much to breakdown the power of *Damaras* by cunning diplomacy but without much effect.

The following six reigns cover a period of about a century and a half. It was a period of decay, and the power of Kashmir steadily declined, owing to political confusion, internecine strife, civil war and the depredations of robber bands.[22] In the time

22 Dr. Stein remarks (*vide* his Introduction to the *Rajatarangini*, pp. 130-32) :

"We have seen that the century and a half which passed from the accession of the Lohara dynasty to the date of Kalhana's Chroni-

of Raja Simha Deva (1305 A.D.) Kashmir was a country of "drunkards, gamblers and profligate women". In his reign the Tartar King, Zul-Qadr Khan, invaded the country. Instead of facing him manfully the Raja fled to Kashtwar. The Tartar Zulju, as he is commonly known, plundered the people, took slaves and set fire to the city of Srinagar. After impoverishing the Valley during a stay of eight months, the Tartars, when they found that provisions were scarce, tried to get out by the southern passes; but snow overtook them and the whole army perished along with their leader. Then Gaddis from Kashtwar entered the Valley on a raiding expedition, but were driven back by Ram Chand, Simha Deva's Commander-in-chief. Henceforth Simha Deva disappears. There were two men with Ram Chand at this time, Shah Mirza, commonly known as Shah Mir, from Swat, and Rainchan Shah the son of Lha chen ngorub, king of Western Tibet (Ladakh). Rainchan Shah fell out with Ram Chand and killed him. He then married Kuta

cle (Book VII, 1003-1150 A.D.) represent a period filled for the greatest part by a succession of rebellions and internal disturbances of all kinds. Yet notwithstanding the signs of progressive political disorganization and consequent economic decay which are so manifest in Kalhana's narrative, we look in vain for an indication of the serious risks of foreign conquest to which such a chronic condition of internal disorder might be supposed to have exposed the country, particularly from the south where, in the meantime, Muhammadan power had spread irresistibly through the whole of the Indian plains.

Jonaraja's record shows that for nearly two centuries after Kalhana's time, Hindu rule maintained itself in Kashmir, though the princes were weak and helpless and the material prosperity of the Valley more and more fading. * * * * it was solely the protection offered by the great mountain ramparts which had secured to the country, for so long a period, immunity from foreign aggression irrespective of the want of internal resources. The peculiarity of the geographical position * * * explains equally that remarkable individuality which characterizes the historical development of the country and constitutes its chief interest. The results of this isolation still strike us everywhere in modern Kashmir after centuries of foreign dominion, and the deep traces it has left in the character and habits of the people are not likely to be effaced for a long time to come."

Rani, Ram Chand's daughter, and proclaimed himself king in 1324 A.D. with Shah Mir as his *Wazir*. He eventually became a convert to Islam and assumed the title of *Sadr-ud-Din*. After a short period of two years and a half, Rainchan Shah, the Musalman king, died in 1326 A.D., when Udayana Deva, brother of Simha Deva, succeeded him, and married his widow. At that time Kashmir was invaded by Urwan, a Turk from Hurpor (Hirpur) side, in 1331 A.D. The king, Udayana Deva, like his brother, fled away before the Turkish invasion, Shah Mir, his *Wazir*, defending the kingdom successfully in his absence. The Raja returned and reigned in Kashmir but as a mere cypher; Shah Mir being then all-powerful. On his death in 1341 A.D., Kuta Rani assumed power, but only for about 2 months, as the *Wazir*, Shah Mir, deposed the *Rani* and himself ascended the throne with the title of *Shams-ud-Din* in 1341 A.D.

3

The Spread of Islam in Kashmir

Islam made its way into Kashmir, says Stein,[1] not by forcible conquest but by gradual conversion, for which the influx of foreign adventurers both from the south and from Central Asia had prepared the ground. The adoption of Islam by the great mass of the population, which became an accomplished fact during the latter half of the fourteenth century, but which probably began towards the close of the Hindu rule, neither affected the independence of the country nor, at first, materially changed its political and cultural conditions. The administration, continues Stein, remained as before in the hands of the traditional official class, the Brahmans, for whom a change of religion presented no advantage and the retention of their old creed apparently involved no loss of inherited status, for frequent references are made in Jonaraja's and Srivara's *Chronicles* to Brahmans holding high official posts under the early Sultans. Sanskrit continued for a considerable period the mode of official communication and record in Kashmir even after the end of Hindu rule. The various forms of official documents, reports, etc., which are contained in *Lokaprakasa*, a remarkable hand-

1 Dr. Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of *Rajatarangini*, Vol. I, p. 130.

book of Kashmirian administrative routine, are drawn up in a curious Sanskrit jargon, full of Persian and Arabic words which must have become current in Kashmir soon after the introduction of Islam. The popular use of Sanskrit, even among Muhammadans, is borne out by the Sanskrit inscription on a tomb in the cemetery of Hazrat Baha-ud-Din at Srinagar, which was put up in the reign of Sultan Muhammad Shah, some time in 1484 A.D. Brief Sanskrit inscriptions without dates have been found by Stein[2] on a number of old Muhammadan tombs at Srinagar, near Martand and elsewhere.

One must deplore with Sir Thomas Arnold that definite historical facts which might help us in clearly accounting for the existence of such an extraordinarily overwhelming majority of Musalmans among the population of Kashmir, are somewhat scanty. But whatever evidence is available leads us to attribute it, on the whole, to a long continued missionary movement inaugurated and carried out mainly by *faqirs*, *darvaishes* and *ulema*, among whom were Ismailian preachers from Alamut.[3]

Islam is essentially a missionary religion like Buddhism and Christianity, and the Muslim missionary, be he a *Pir* or a preacher, carries with him the message of Islam to the people of the land into which he penetrates. "The spirit of truth in the heart of the missionary cannot rest till it manifests itself in thought, word and deed." It is in this spirit that the Muslim missionary entered the Valley of Kashmir to influence its people by his example, his personal methods of preaching and persuasion at a time when, in the words of Lawrence[4], "Kashmir in the reign of Simha Deva (1305 A.D.)—that is, previous to the advent of Islam—"was a country of drunkards, gamblers" and where "women were no better than they should be".

Sultan Sadr-ud-Din (Ratanju, Ranjpoi, Ratanchan, Ranju Shah or Renchan Shah), first Muslim ruler of Kashmir, a contemporary of Edward III of England, was originally a Tibetan. He was well-disposed towards Islam on account of his contact with

2 Dr. Stein's Introduction to his English Translation of *Rajatarangini*, Vol. I, Footnote p. 131.

3 Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*, second edition, p. 291.

4 *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 189.

Shah Mir then in Kashmir State Service. Renchan Shah is believed to have actually owed his conversion to Bulbul Shah in the beginning of the fourteenth century. Bulbul Shah is stated to have visited Kashmir, first, in the time of Raja Simha Deva, the predecessor of Renchan Shah. The original name of Bulbul Shah is said to have been Syed Abdur Rahman, though some believe it to be Syed Sharf-ud-Din, while others call him Sharf-ud-Din Syed Abdur Rahman Turkistani. This much is certain that he was a Syed from Turkistan and, according to one statement, was a disciple of Sheikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardy and, according to another, of Shah Niamatullah *Wali*, a *Khalifa* of the Suhrawardy *tariq*. Khwaja Muhammad Azam, however, contests the former statement on the ground that Sheikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardy died in 632 A.H. and Bulbul Shah visited Kashmir a second time in 725 A.H. Obviously, therefore, he could, in no way, be the direct personal disciple of the saint of Suhraward, but that of Shah Niamatullah *Wali*. Another writer[5] is of opinion that Bulbul Shah was a disciple of Mulla Ahmad Allami, who is stated to have accompanied Bulbul Shah when he visited Kashmir on the first occasion in the time of Raja Simha Deva. The same writer mentions Mulla Ahmad Allami as the *Sheikh-ul-Islam* in the reign of Sultan Shams-ud-Din (743-746 A.H). I am afraid, therefore, that this cannot be accepted, as it is very hard to believe that Bulbul Shah should have taken the lead in the conversion of Renchan Shah in the presence of his own *Pir*, who would thus be relegated to a secondary position on an occasion of such transcendent importance. To my mind, available evidence establishes that Bulbul Shah was a disciple of Shah Niamatullah *Wali*. The circumstances that led to the conversion of Renchan Shah appear to have been the impression created on him by the simplicity of Bulbul Shah coupled with his own dissatisfaction with what was then professed by the people around him. Different people have attributed different motives[6] to Renchan Shah, for adopting Islam into the details of which

5 Haji Mohi-ud-Din Miskin in *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, p. 289.

6 For instance, it is alleged by some (Kirpa Ram and Narain Koul) that Brahmans rejected his offer of conversion to Hinduism, but this is not accepted by others, like Malik Haidar and Khwaja Azam.

motives we need not enter. Suffice it to say that Renchan Shah embraced Islam at the hands of Bulbul Shah and assumed the name of Sultan Sadr-ud-Din, and claims our attention as the first Muslim ruler of Kashmir.

After the conversion of Renchan Shah, his brother-in-law and Commander-in-Chief and several others embraced the creed of Bulbul Shah, for whom a place of residence was set up on the bank of the Vitasta, known as *Bulbul Lankar*, and also the first mosque in Kashmir. Bulbul Shah died in 727 A.H., corresponding to 1327 A.D.[7]

The conversion of the people of Kashmir to Islam was further encouraged by the arrival of other Syeds, prominent among whom were (1) Syed Jalal-ud-Din of Bokhara, known as Makhdum Jahanian Jahangir, the disciple of Sheikh Rukn-ud-Din Alam, who arrived in 748 A.H. and left Kashmir after a short stay. (2) Syed Taj-ud-Din, the cousin of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani (Shah Hamadan), arrived in 760 A.H. in the reign of Sultan Shihab-ub-Din. He was accompanied by Syed Masaud and Syed Yusuf, his disciples, who lie buried near his tomb in Mahalla Shihabuddin Pura. (3) Syed Husain Simnani, the younger brother of Syed Taj-ud-Din, a disciple of Sheikh Rukn-ud-Din Alam, who came in 773 A.H.

It appears that the two brothers Taj-ud-Din and Syed Husain were sent to Kashmir by Syed Ali Hamadani, probably to survey the field for the propagation of Islam, and also to find a peaceful home to escape from the persecution of Timur, who seems to have, on certain political considerations, determined to massacre this powerful Syed family living in his territory.

In view of the extraordinary influence that his personality wielded in the spread of Islam in Kashmir, I think a somewhat fuller notice of Shah Hamadan is needed.

The great Syed was born on Monday, 12fth Rajjab, 714 A.H.[8] (1314 A.D.) at Hamadan in Persia. His father's name was Syed

تاریخ وصل حضرت شاہ   بلبل قدس گفت ماوی الیہ

The words underlined give the date of his death. *viz.*, 727 A.H.

8 The chronogram *Rahmatullah ilaih* رحمة الله gives the date of his birth, *viz.*, 714 A.H.

Shihab-ud-Din. He became *Hafiz-i-Quran* in his very early boyhood, and studies Muslim Theology and acquired knowledge and learnt *Tasawuff* under the tuition of Syed Ala-ud-Din, who was his maternal uncle. He became, in the first instance, a disciple of Sheikh Abul Barakat Taqi-ud-Din and after his death of Sheikh Sharf-ud-Din Mahmud Muzdaqani. The latter desired him to complete his education by extensive travel in the world, which Shah Hamadan undertook and consequently visit-ed several countries. He was journeying for about twenty-one years and thus came in contact with several *sufis* and *ulema* of the age and profited by their contract. After the completion of his travels, Shah Hamadan returned to his native place. It was after his return that the persecution of Timur forced him to leave for Kashmir. Seven hundred Syeds are said to have accompanied him to the valley in the reign of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din in 774 A.H.[9] (1372 A.D.) Shihab-ud-Din, the reigning monarch, had gone out on an expedition against the Tughlaqs, and Qutb-ud-Din, who subsequently assumed power, was then acting for his brother Shihab-ud-Din. After four months' stay, Shah Hama-dan left Ferozepore in the Punjab, the scene of battle, and persuaded the belligerents to come to peace. Shah Hamadan then proceeded to Mecca, and came back to the valley in 781 A.H.[10] in the time of Sultan Qutb-ud-Din. After a stay of about two and a half years he went to Laddakh in 783 A.H. *en route* for Turkistan. The third visit of Shah Hamadan took place in 785 A.H. But he had to leave it on account of ill-health, and

9 And not 782 A.H. as stated by Beale in his *Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, 1881 edition, p. 238, because the following chronogram gives 774 A.H.:

سال تاریخ مقدم اورا   گفت ازمقدم شریف بجو

10 According to the chronogram :

هاتف غیب سال مقدم او   آمد اینجا علی ثانی گفت

This and the previous chronograms are by Syed Muhammad Khawari who was the contemporary of Syed Muhammad Hamadani son of Shah Hamadan, *vide Tarikh-i-Kabir*, p. 12 and p. 28.

stayed at Pakhli[11] for ten days at the request of the ruler of that place whose name was Sultan Muhammad.

From Pakhli he repaired to Khatlan[12] where after a short stay he had a relapse on the 1st of *Zulhijja* 786 A.H. and ate nothing for five days. On Tuesday the 5th of *Zulhijja*, he drank water several times, and on the night of the same day he breathed his last at the age of 72. On his death-bed '*Bismillah-ir-Rahman-ir-Rahim*' was on his lips, and this, strangely enough, gives the date of his demise. He was buried in Khatlan. Shah Hamadan followed the *Naqshbandi tariq* and was the author of *Zakhiratul Muluk*, a treatise on political ethics.

That the conversion of the valley to Islam was furthered by the presence of Shah Hamadan is undoubted. His followers—prominent among whom were : 1, Mir Syed Haidar, 2. Syed Jamal-ud-Din, 3. Syed Kamal, 4. Syed Kamal-i-Sani, 5. Syed Jamal-ud-Din Alai, 6. Syed Feroz *alias* Syed Jalal, 7. Syed Muhd. Kazim, 8. Syed Rukn-un-Din, 9. Syed Muhd. Qureshi, 10. Syed Azizullah—established hermitages all over the country which served as centres for the propagation of their religion, and by their influence definitely furthered the acceptance of the

11 Pakhli was an ancient district of the Punjab, now included in the Hazara district of the North-West Frontier Province. In Babur's time the tract was held by the Khakha and Bambha tribes, whose chiefs had been rulers of the country to the east of the Indus but had been driven out by the Gibari Sultans of Bajaur and Swat. Its inhabitants still speak Pushtu—King's Edition of *Babur's Memoirs*, Vol. 2, note on p. 201.

12 The state or province of Khatlan Khutlan or Khotl was located in 1872 A.D. by Sir H. Yule, somewhat north of the present Kolab and west of Darwaz (in Turkistan immediately beyond the north-eastern border of Afghanistan), but Mr. Mayer who travelled in this region three years later, believes Kurgan-Tube (*i e.* Kurghan Tipa) on the lower Surkhab (or Vakhsh) and a short distance west of Kolab, to have been the centre of the ancient Khatlan. Khatlan existed at least down to the end of the fifteenth century, for in 1498 we find Khusru Shah, of Kunduz, bestowing the governorship of it on his brother Wali. Both the state and name have since disappeared—English Translation of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* by Elias and Ross 1895, p. 21.

The name Khutl or Khutlan was applied in the time of Babur and as far back as the age of Ibn-i-Haukal to the country lying between the upper branch of the Amu, called Harat or Panj, which divided it from Badakhshan on the South.—*Babur's Memoirs*, King's Edition, 1921, Vol. I, p. lxviii and lxix.

faith of the Prophet of Arabia. Two well-known incidents, in which two of the leading *Sanyasis* of the time together with their followers accepted Islam at the hands of Shah Hamadan after a trial of their supernatural powers, apparently convinced the priest-ridden Kashmiri of the greatness of the Syed's creed. The present *ziarat* of Shah Hamadan is said to have been erected on the spot where one of these trials took place. This *ziarat* really represents the great Syed's place of retreat and devotion on the Vitasta and not his tomb, which is in Khatlan.

That Sultan Qutb-ud-Din himself acknowledged the greatness of the Syed may be apparent from the following incident. Qutb-ud-Din, who had married two sisters against the *shariat* of Islam, had to divorce one of his wives at the instance of Shah Hamadan. The Sultan also adopted the dress then prevalent in Islamic countries, and had such a great regard for the cap given to him by the Syed that he always wore it under his crown. This cap was passed on to succeeding Sultans and was buried with the dead body of Sultan Fath Shah at his special request before his death. It is said that someone prophesied that the burial of the cap would be an indication of the burial of the dynasty, and it is a curious coincidence that the dynasty actually came to an end on the rise of the Chaks.

When 22 years of age Mir Muhammad, son of the great Shah Hamadan, arrived in the valley in 796 A.H. when Sultan Sikandar was the reigning monarch, and was accompanied by three hundred Syeds. Shah Hamadan, his father having, as already noted, brought seven hundred. Kashmir had therefore a total influx of one thousand Syeds from Turkistan.

Mir Muhammad was born in 774 A.H., and was twelve years old when his father died. It is said that before his death in Khatlan, Shah Hamadan had handed over to *Maulana* Surai for transmission to two of his prominent *Khalifas*—Khwaja Ishaq of Khatlan and *Maulana* Nur-ud-Din of Badakhshan—certain documents which contained his *Wasiyat nama* and *Khilafatnama*. Khwaja Ishaq and *Maulana* Nur-ud-Din, in turn, delivered the documents to Mir Muhammad with the exception of the *Khilafatnama*, which the former retained himself, saying that it could be made over to one who proved worthy of it. This was apparently a hint for Mir Muhammad that he

should exert himself to follow in the footsteps of his great father. Mir Muhammad accordingly studied under these prominent admirers of his father, and in course of time acquired succession to his father's position of spiritual pre-eminence.

On his arrival in Kashmir, Mir Muhammad was received with great honour by Sikandar. At this time Sikandar's Prime Minister and Commander of the military forces was Malik Siya Butt, a Brahmin convert, who appears to have been impressed with the personality of Mir Muhammad and to have embraced Islam with the whole of his family. Mir Muhammad, whose first wife, Bibi Taj Khatun, had died, was offered the hand of his own daughter, re-named Bibi Barea, by Siya Butt after his conversion. Siya Butt adopted the Islamic name of Malik Saif-ud-Din.

At the instance of Mir Muhammad, distillation and the sale and use of wine were prohibited. *Sati* was forbidden. Gambling was put down. Nautches were stopped. Mir Muhammad had a Badakhshan ruby which he gave over to Sikandar, who in lieu thereof presented three big villages as *jagir* which the Syed declared as *waqf*[13] for the *Langarkhana* This *waqf-nama* with the endorsement of the Sultan has been copied by Hasan, a well-known historian of Kashmir in his History.

Mir Muhammad stayed for about twenty-two years in Kashmir and then left for *Haj* in 817 A.H. On his return from Mecca he went back to Khatlan where he died on 17th *Rabi-ul-Avwal* 854 A.H., and was buried near his father.

Before we proceed further, let us attempt to realize the magnitude of change brought about by the advent of such a large number of Syeds in to the valley. Deeply imbued with the *sufism* of the age and country from which they emigrated, these Syeds and their followers seem to have stimulated the tendency to mysticism for which Buddhism and Vedantism had already paved the way. Perhaps also shocked at the tyranny and self-assertion of Timur, they may have sought refuge in the regions of abstract thought as a solace for the worldly repression under which they laboured. One cannot forget, says Col.

13 *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, p. 25.

Newall,[14] that the human mind has ever tended towards mysticism and solitude at times when tyrants flourished, and in the present case, no doubt, the wrath of Timur had been aroused against these Syeds, who perhaps may have attempted to adopt an independence of act and speech displeasing to the great conqueror. The presence of this type of Syed naturally influenced the more pronounced mystics of Kashmir, who, as the well-known *Rishis* or *Babas* or hermits, considerably furthered the spread of Islam by their extreme piety and utter self-abnegation. Jahangir in his *Memoirs*[15] says that "though they (the *Rishis*) have not religious knowledge or learning of any sort, yet they possess simplicity and are without pretence. They abuse no one, they restrain the tongue of desire, and the foot of seeking ; they eat no flesh, they have no wives, and always plant fruit-bearing trees in the fields so that men may benefit by them, themselves desiring no advantage. There are about 2,000 of these people." Firishta and Abul Fazl have also described them in words of high praise, as abstaining from luxury, living on berries and the wild fruits of the mountains, in the remote corners of which many of them had taken up their abodes for purposes of meditation and seclusion. In some instances they had constructed *Ziarats* or shrines, many of which remain to this day, attesting in their traditions their founders' austerities and virtues, and forming local schools of holy men or priests whose influence was beneficial to the people as promulgating the principles of humanity and moral virtues. These shrines, associated as they are with acts of piety and self-denial, are pleasant places of meeting at fair-time, and the natural beauty of their position and surroundings affords additional attraction. Noble 'brotherhoods of venerable trees,' of chenars, elms and the Kabuli poplar with its white bark and shimmer of silver leaves, says Lawrence, give a pleasant shade, and there is always some spring of water for the thirsty.

Saints and *Rishis* like Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, *Baba* Pom *Rishi*, *Baba* Bam-ud-Din, Sheikh Hamza Makhdumi, Syed Ahmad Kirmani, Syed Muhammad Hisari, and *Baba* Zain-ud-Din by

14 Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, 1870, p. 266.
15 Translated by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II, pp. 149-50.

their example and precept smoothed the path of Islam in its slow, steady and systematic conversion of practically the whole valley. Sheikh Nur-ud-Din is the great national saint of Kashmir. Some account of his life, therefore, would not be out of place here.

Sheikh Nur-ud-Din was born in a village called Kemoh in 779 A.H., on the day of *Baqr-Id.* His father's name was Sheikh Salar-ud-Din and his mother's Sadra (she was called Sadra *Moji* or Sadra *Didi*); both were well-known for their piety. Sheikh Salar-ud-Din, whose pre-Islamic name was Salar Sanz and who belonged to the family of *Rajas* of Kashtwar, embraced Islam at the hands of Yasman *Rishi*, the younger brother of Palasman and Khalasman *Rishis*. Yasman *Rishi* travelled far and wide and mostly lived in jungles, and it is said that he used to ride a tiger. His daily food was a cup of wild goat's milk. Sadra came of a high Rajput family, but her parents having died very early, she was brought up by her wet-nurse and in course of time married to a person of humble origin of whom she had two sons—Shush and Gundar. Her husband died after some years and she was left alone. Naturally of a religious bent of mind, she came under the influence of Yasman *Rishi* and embraced Islam and was remarried at the instance of her foster-father and, under the direction of Yasman *Rishi*, to Salar-ud-Din.

Once when Yasman *Rishi* was ill, Salar-ud-Din and Sadra went to visit him. Lalla, the great "prophetess," was already there with a present of a bouquet of flowers for the *Rishi*. The *Rishi* on Sadra's arrival gave Lalla's bouquet to her, and it is said that when Nur-ud-Din was born and subsequently would not take his own mother's milk, Lalla was called in and strangely enough Nur-ud-Din went to her and had milk from her breast. To Lalla the child was thus attached. This was the time when Syed Husain Simnani was in Kashmir. Through Lalla the child was brought to the notice of the Syed. Shah Hamadan also came in later. Nur-ud-Din had thus the happiest surroundings in which he was brought up, and which led to his future greatness as the patron saint of the valley. When Nur-ud-Din grew old, his step-brothers began to trouble him. They were rogues and he was saintly. Once or twice he accompanied them for work and

found that he could not work happily with them. He was then apprenticed to a couple of traders one after the other, but there too he felt disgusted with the ways of the world and decided upon renunciation of it, and retire to caves for meditation. It is said that he lived for twelve years in the wilderness subsisting on grass. After that he sustained life on one cup of milk daily, and finally reduced himself to water alone for two and a half years,[16] when he died at the age of 63 in the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in 842 A.H. *Shams-ul-Arifeen* is the chronogram which gives the date of his death. The Sultan accompanied his bier to the grave. The tomb of Sheikh Nur-ud-Din at Charar Sharif, about 15 miles from Srinagar, is visited by thousands of people at the present day.

The simplicity and purity of Sheikh Nur-ud-Din's life have deeply impressed the Kashmiris who entertains the highest veneration for the saint. Anecdotes of his life are on the lips of the people throughout the valley. Sheikh Nur-ud-Din was in the habit of visiting gardens pretty frequently. Once on his way to a garden accompanied by a disciple, he stopped and would not move. On his disciple requesting him to proceed, he made the following reply : "Every minute that I spend there", he said, "will be deducted from my stay in heaven".

On another occasion when he was invited to a feast, he went in ragged dress earlier than the appointed time, and not having been recognized by the servants of the house was not allowed entrance and had to go back and took his food at home. When all had sat for the sumptuous dinner, the Sheikh was specially sent for. He came, this time, in a flowing *chogha* and was given the seat of honour. But the Sheikh, instead of partaking of the food, stretched forth his sleeves and put them to the plates. The people were wonder-struck at the sight and asked him the reason. He replied, "The feast was not really for Nur-ud-Din but for the long sleeves." Such was the type of the simple Kashmiri saint who advanced the cause of Islam in the valley.

The propagation of Islam in Kashmir received a strong impetus in the time of Sultan Sikandar, who has, however, been

16 Col. Newall, *J.A.S.B.*, 1870, Part I, p. 268.

blamed for his bigotry in the persecution of the Hindus of the valley and is called *Butshikan* or the Iconoclast. Before we proceed further let us, therefore, examine the nature of this blame.

The allegation that the wholesale destruction of temple in Kashmir was carried out by Sikandar, is based, I am afraid, on considerable misrepresentation, on more fiction than fact, and a number of non-Muslim chroniclers one after the other have heaped their quota of abuse on the head of the Sultan. The calumny has been perpetuated to such an extent that we now find Sikandar as an abominable personification of ruthless destruction of all noble edifices erected to the Hindu Deities. The heap over Sikandar's head has grown so enormous that we have completely lost sight of the actual skull; we are consequently not infrequently reminded of Akbar and Aurangzeb in the praise of Zain-ul-Abidin and the condemnation of Sikandar, and it has become the wont of every casual visitor to Kashmir, who is anxious to give his impressions of the Happy Valley to the world, to single out the Akbar and the Aurangzeb of Kashmir for praise and blame. I hold no brief of Sikandar. He is undoubtedly responsible for what he actually did, but not more than that.

Anyone who visits old or ruined temples anywhere in India down the Jhelum is told by the guide or the priest that the idols therein were broken by Aurangzeb : similarly, anyone who visits such places up the Jhelum is summarily informed that the havoc to the gods was wrought by Sikandar and every conceivable wrong is attributed to him. The continuity of such baseless stories must be discouraged as forming one distinct factor in the cleavage that is being wrought in the relation of the great communities that inhabit India. This is no digression into politics, but a warning against the continual masquerade of myth as true history.

Sikandar in his zeal for his own religion may have transgressed the limits of moderation, but it is unquestionably a false charge against him that he broke down all[17] Hindu temples

17 Even the Rev. Tyndale-Biscoe, who ought to have shown greater regard for truth, writing in 1922, says in his *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 71, "Sikandar destroyed *all* their (the Hindus) sacred places."

in Kashmir and cruelly persecuted every Pandit. Did not the struggle between Buddhism and Brahmanism spell ruin to many a fane? Did not Raja Abhimanyu[18] set fire to his capital, and destroy all the noble buildings "from the temple of Vardhana Swami as far as Bhikshukiparaka" (or the asylum of mendicants)? The escape of the limestone temple is attributed by Cunningham to its fortunate situation in the midst of tank water. Samkara Varman (883-902 A.D.), as already stated elsewhere, plundered the treasures of temples. To perpetuate his memory he built the town of Pattan and its temples from the materials he had obtained by the plunder of the town and temples of Pariharsapura. Harsha (1089-1101 A.D.) took to the spoliation of temples and confiscated the divine images in order to possess himself of the valuable metal of which they were made. Again, Zulju's invasion in the beginning of the fourteenth century wrought havoc to several temples. This Tartar Zulju (whom Jonaraja calls Khan Dalcha) slaughtered the people and set fire[19] to the city of Srinagar.

Malik Siya Butt, his minister, appears to be responsible for the destruction of some temples that took place in the reign of Sikandar. According to Arnold,[20] he set on foot a fierce persecution of the adherents of his old faith. Siya Butt did so probably in order to show his zeal for his new religion. But it must be distinctly remembered that this sort of zeal for Islam, Islam really does not at all permit. In fact, it positively prohibits it. And it is on record that Mir Muhammad warned Siya Butt against his action and pointed out to him the well-known verse of the Quran which says: 'Let there be no compulsion in religion.' It is true that Sikandar cannot be exonerated from his share of the blame that rightly falls to Siya Butt, but it is absolutely untrue that it was Sikandar who was responsible for the ruthless persecution of every Hindu and the fearful destruction of every temple. It would perhaps be most pertinent to the discussion if we took into account weighty evidence of personages like Mirza Haidar Doghlat and Jahangir who have written about temples in Kash-

18 Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, 1871, p. 96.
19 *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 189.
20 *The Preaching of Islam*, second edition, p. 292.

mir and whose testimony is unimpeachable. Mirza Haidar Doghlat who invaded Kashmir in 1531 A.D. long after the death of Sikandar in 1416 A.D., gives a considerable amount of detail about these temples in Kashmir in his *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.[21] Perhaps I may be excused for a long quotation from him. Mirza Haidar says : "First and foremost among the wonders of Kashmir stand her idol temples. In and around Kashmir there are more than one hundred and fifty temples which are built of blocks of hewn stone, fitted so accurately one upon the other, that there is absolutely no cement used. These stones have been so carefully placed in position, without plaster or mortar, that a sheet of paper could not be passed between the joints. The blocks are from three to twenty *Gaz* in length, one *Gaz* in depth, and one to five *Gaz* in breadth. The marvel is how these stones were transported and erected. The temples are nearly all built on the same plan. There is a square enclosure which in some places reaches the height of thirty *Gaz*, while each side is about three hundred *Gaz* long. Inside this enclosure there are pillars and on the top of the pillars there are square capitals; on the top of these separate parts are made out of one block of stone. On the pillars are fixed supports of the arches, and each arch is three or four *Gaz* in width. Under the arch are a hall and a doorway. On the outside and inside of the arch are pillars of forty or fifty *Gaz* in height, having supports and capitals of block of stone. On the top of this are placed four pillars of one or two pieces of stone. The inside and the outside of the halls have the appearance of two porticos, and these are covered with one or two stones. The capitals, the ornamentation in relief, the cornices, the "dog tooth" work, the inside covering and the outside, are all crowded with pictures and paintings, which I am incapable of describing. Some represent laughing and weeping figures, which astound the beholder. In the middle is a lofty throne of hewn stone, over that, a dome made entirely of stone, which I cannot describe. In the rest of the world there is not to be seen or heard of, one building like this. How wonderful that there should here be a hundred and fifty of them !" Jahangir (1605-1627 A.D.) speaks in no unmistakable terms when he says :

21 *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* Elias and Ross, p. 426.

"The lofty idol temples which were built before the manifestation of Islam are still in existence[22] and are all built of stones, which from foundation to roof are large and weigh 30 or 40 maunds placed one on the other." For the destruction of temples we have, therefore, to fasten the blame not on Sikandar's head, but on that of the real destroyers, time and the defective fitting of the stones. 'Earthquakes [23] and the imperfect fitting of the stones observable in all Kashmirian temples,' remarks Stein,[24] 'are sufficient to explain the complete ruin notwithstanding the massive character of the materials!' "Sikandar was brave and cultured," says Lawrence, "and attracted learned Musalmans to his court." In the face of all this evidence it is surprising that a number of writers should revel in holding up Sikandar to ignominy. Facts belie the charge.

Fresh impetus to conversion was given towards the close of fifteenth century by the arrival (in 1496 A.D., and not 1450 A.D., as Lawrence wrongly puts it) of Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi who was a Shia. With the aid of his disciples, Mir Shams-ud-Din won over a large[25] number of converts. According to *Zafar-namah*,[26] Shams-ud-Din arrived from Iraq in the time of Fateh Shah and converted many thousands of people, after which he was crowned in the name of the twelve *Imams*, and the Chaks of Kashmir contend that he was a true Shia but the *Ahwat*, the book containing the tenets of the Nur Bukhshi [27] sect,

22 *Memoirs of Jahangir*, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, p. 150.

23 Pandit Anand Koul, in his *Jammu and Kashmir State*, 1913, enumerates 12 severe earthquakes (*Vide* pp. 35, 36 and 37) from 1500 A.D. to 1884 A.D.

24 *The Valley of Kashmir*, footnote p. 190.

25 Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*, p. 124.

26 *Vide* Biddulph's *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 124.

27 The Nur Bukhshi sect is an attempt to find a *via media* between Shia and Sunni doctrines. In winter the Nur Bukhshis pray with folded arms like the Sunni : in summer with the hands hanging down like the Shia. *Like* the Sunnis they pray together and observe Friday prayers, but they do not wash their feet before praying and only perform *masa* like Shias. The chief cause of quarrel arises in *Muharram*, as the Nur Bukhshis maintain that mourning should take place in the mos-

(prevalent at present in Baltistan) is not his composition. Firishta says that Mir Shams-ud-Din was a disciple of Shah Qasim Anwar, the son of Syed Muhammad Nur Bakhsh, and that Sultan Fateh Shah made over to this holy man all the confiscated lands which had fallen to the Crown, and that in a short time Chaks were converted by him. The Shia doctrine, however, did not gain much hold on the valley. Mir Shams-ud-Din was buried at Zadi Bal, and his grave is held in great veneration by the Shias of Kashmir.

Under the Mughals, Islamic influence was still further strengthened and many men of learning came into the valley. In the reign of Aurangzeb, Raja Jaya Singh, the Rajput Raja of Kashtwar, is said to have converted by the miracles[28] of Syed Shah Farid-ud-Din Qadiri of Baghdad, and his conversion seems to have been followed by that of the majority of his subjects. The journeys of Mughal emperors to Kashmir also appear to have effected peaceful conversions along the route, as we still find Rajas who are the descendants of Rajputs who adopted Islam. Afghan rule also tended to increase the number of converts to Islam.

Such has been, in brief, the history of the propagation of Islam in the Valley of Kashmir. From first to last the spread of Islam has been, on the whole, generally peaceful. At any rate, Islam was never introduced into the valley by a conqueror like Mahmud nor a warrior like Shihab-ud-Din nor a general like Muhammad bin Qasim. In fact, the process was reversed. Islam was introduced by a simple *Faqir* (Bulbul Shah) whose simplicity and piety impressed the reigning sovereign of the time (Renchan Shah). The work was taken up and continued by *Faqirs*, though occasionally stimulated by a Sultan like Sikandar; its widespread peaceful penetration was due to the piety, purity and simplicity of the *Rishis* and saints who denied pleasures to themselves and worked for others. Thus the great Prophet who took pride in *Faqr*, found *Fuqara* (*faqirs*) to propagate his faith in the Valley of Kashmir.

que. but the Shias do not allow this to be proper. For a fuller account of the Nur Bukhshi sect *vide Maulvi* Muhammad Shafi's article in the *Oriental College Magazine* for February and May, 1925.

28 Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*, second edition, 1923, p. 292.

4

The Sultans of Kashmir

As already referred to at the close of chapter 2, Hindu rule in Kashmir terminated with the close of Raja Simha Deva's reign—son and successor of Raja Sambha Deva. Simha Deva ascended the throne in 705 A.H. or 1305 A.D. He was a cruel and licentious ruler, and outran his father in this respect. Consequently administration was paralysed the contagion of immorality spread from him to his subjects, debauchery, and licentiousness entered every home and the foundations of authority were sapped. Instead of any financial or economic improvement, Simha Deva's rule was characterised by general decay all-round, and the absence of justice and proper administration.

Such a state of affairs could not fail to attract the notice of neighbouring chiefs. In the beginning of the fourteenth century Zulju, who is also called by some historians as Zul Qadr Khan and Dalcha by Jonaraja and described as a descendant of Halaku Khan came down from Turkistan with an army seventy thousand strong and entered Kashmir *via* Baramula. Simha Deva, a weakling had not the strength to meet Zulju and give him a battle. He sought safety in timely flight, leaving Zulju victorious and master of all he surveyed. Intoxicated by success, Zulju's followers oppressed and plundered to their hearts' content. Cities, towns and villages suffered unspeakable horrors

of vandalism, while the inhabitants irrespective of either age or sex were ruthlessly done to death. In short, Zulju's advent in Kashmir revived the bloody orgies of Changez and Halaku. Some historians have also recorded that in addition to bloodshed and massacre, Zulju also captured no less than fifty thousand inhabitants most of whom were sold as slaves, perhaps, to the inhabitants of Khata, while a smaller number of them had their afflictions curtailed by the merciful hand of death.

In this way Zulju spent eight months in Kashmir. Fortunately for the people a universal famine appeared and opened the eyes of the murderous invader. Finding no other means of escape from the relentless clutches of famine, Zulju decided to relinquish the country for his life ; and turned his thoughts towards Hindustan. Being unacquainted with the roads, he sought guidance from his captives who found it a suitable opportunity to wreak vengeance on Zulju for their vate and their country's wrongs. They led him by a road which took him all straight to destruction. Pandit Birbal Kachur has appropriately described the invasion of Zulju in the following brief words : "He came, plundered, killed, and seized and departed." No more graphic description of Zulju's terrible visit could be given.

Zulju's departure from Kashmir left the country without a ruler or a central government. Factions appeared on every side with independent chiefs who acknowledged no authority.

The termination of Simha Deva's authority as a ruler practically marks the extinction of Hindu rule in Kashmir, the chief factor contributing to these sad results being Zulju's high-handedness and oppression on the one hand, and Simha Deva's love of luxury and apathy towards state affairs, on the other.

On Zulju's appearance on the scene, Simha Deva had taken refuge along with his family in Kashtwar with his father-in-law. This lack of courage on his part did not fail to demoralise his grandees and councillors, chief among whom was his commander-in-chief, Ram Chandar, who retired to the fort of Kakhgir in the *Pargana* of Lar to save his life.

A virtue of outstanding merit possessed by Simha Deva, however, was his hospitality which he meted out to all in an unstinted measure, irrespective of caste and creed. During his

reign which extended over a period of nineteen years, three months and twenty-five days three personages of high rank entered his dominions and he made adequate provision for all of them by assigning lands and *jagirs* in order to enable them to maintain themselves. The first case recorded by historians is that of Shah Mir, son of Tahir, who came from Swadgir. Simha Deva received him with kindness and allotted to him a village.

The second person who received hospitality at the hands of the Raja was Lunkar (or Sunkar) Chak, the ancestor of the Chaks, who, being defeated by his brother Parshad, fled from Dardao, the capital, and found a ready and welcome asylum in Kashmir. Simha Deva extended his kindness and hospitality to yet another person, Rainchan Shah, member of the ruling dynasty of Tibet, whose father had been murdered by the rebellious nobles of the court, so that he had to leave the country to save his own life while he was not yet of mature years. Simha Deva's commander-in-chief, Ram Chandar received him and the Raja accommodated him in Dir, a village in the Lar *Pargana*. The hospitality shown by Simha Deva cannot be too highly extolled. To alleviate the miseries of others particularly at a time when he himself had nothing but a shadow of authority left to him, is a virtue that stand in perpetual splendeur in the sad annals of his reign. But unfortunately he stood in urgent need of strong administrative ability in order to be able to uplift his country. He was thus quite incompetent to offer any resistance to an invader who left the country torn and his own authority shattered to pieces and his person completely defenceless.

There seems to be some difference of opinion among historians with respect to Rainchan's name. Some have adopted Ratanju or Ranju Shah while others Rechan Renchan or Rainchan Shah, though some also call him Ranjpoi or Ratanchan. One would feel inclined to accept Ratanju, because there is no controversy about his Tibetan origin, and Tibetan names generally end in "ju". It is very likely that Ratanju was the name by which he was generally known. This possibility is admissible on the ground that in proving his name certain historians have tried to advance support from the name of the city "Ratanchan pura" founded by him in the earlier part of his

reign and which it still bears. Besides we have definite historical evidence in Khwaja Muhammad Azam's work, the *Waqiat-i-Kashmir* or *Tarikh-i-Kashmir Azami* (p. 60 Muhammadi Press, Lahore) in which a mosque is stated still to bear the name "King Ratanju's Mosque". To be brief, there is a consensus of opinion among the majority of historians in giving him the name "Ratanju" which is perhaps the correct one.

In view of the insinuation of Hargopal Koul it will not be out of place to ascertain whether Zulju was a Muhammadan or he also was a Tibetan. The suffix "ju" points to his Tibetan origin. Some historians have assigned a Turkish (Mogol or Tartar?) origin to him, while at the same time they have given him the name Zul Qadr Khan. It is not hazardous to offer the conjecture that his name was really Zul Qadr Khan which was changed into Zulju in the Tibetan or Sanskrit language, "ju" having been added to it as a suffix. But there still remains a great deal of doubt; because it is not, in the first place, conslusively proved that he was a Muhammadan. In the second place, his name Zulju clearly indicates his Tibetan nativity and it can be surmised that he was a follower of the Buddhist faith. Even if we take it for granted that his name was Zul Qadr Khan, it does not necessarily follow that he was a Muhammadan. Changez Khan and Halaku Khan are names which sound like Muhammadan names, yet it cannot be said that the kings who bore those names were Muhammadans. On account of his ferociousness, Zulju may justly be called a Hun.

According to Birbal Kachur, Ratanju lived with Ram Chandar who has been previously described as the commander-in-chief of Raja Simha Deva. It is important not to dismiss from our minds the chaotic situation prevailing in Kashmir at that time. The country had no ruler, its old king, a pussillanimous creature was spending his days in Kashtwar; his commander-in-chief had retired behind the walls of the Kakhgir fort. Kashmir obviously needed a strong, capable ruler. Ratanju who possessed good manners, sagacity and ingenuity happened to be on the spot, and had already won the hearts of those with whom he had come into contact. The number of his adherents and partisans increased gradually till he became strong enough to seize the throne and wield the sceptre. His accession to the throne was

not the result of an act of usurpation. On the other hand, it very nearly amounted to a popular election. Soon after his accession he busied himself strenuously with the task of freeing the country from the evil influences rampant, owing to lack of proper administration and the almost complete absence of strong central authority.

In considering himself without a rival, Ratanju counted without his host. His exaltation to the throne naturally aroused within the bosom of Ram Chandar a keen sense of jealousy and ambition. He felt their pangs all the more inasmuch as he had once been the bulwark of the country and also of his previous master. He, therefore, refused to acknowledge Ratanju's authority. The latter acted wisely in offering no open resistance to the former, because he appeared to have realised that the country had already been suffering from the ravages of war and that it would be an act of sagacity on his part to spare the country further hardships that naturally follow in the wake of war. Further, he was keenly alive to the dissension and factious rule which had torn the country into pieces, and understood the value of peace. He, therefore, resorted to a stratagem. He started and continued to send for a considerable time his Tibetan subjects disguised as merchants into Kakhgir, who sold their commodities at considerably lower rates. After he had disarmed suspicion in this way, he next sent men duly equipped with the instruction that they should rise into a rebellion the moment he arrived there, and as a consequence of this coup, Ram Chandar was slain and his son, Rawan Chand, captured along with his relatives. Thus in 1324 A.D. Ratanju found himself the undisputed monarch of Kashmir.

To further strengthen his position he married Kota Rani, daughter of Ram Chandar, and appointed his son Rawan Chand the commander of the army with Tibet and Lar as his *jagir.* This step was also calculated to drive out of Rawan Chand's mind all desire of vengeance, which purpose was completely achieved inasmuch as they began to live on perfect terms of intimacy and sincere friendship. Malik Haidar Chadaura tells us that Ratanju gave Rawan Chand the surname of *Ji dost* to ex-

press his esteem[1] according to the Kashmir practice.

Raja Simha Deva again made himself conspicuous by his belated action. He returned to Kashmir hoping that his mere appearance on the scene would cause all his subjects to flock to his standard and desert Ratanju, the usurper. He was sadly disappointed to find that the passion of loyalty to his person had completely vanished from the hearts of the people. His attempt to regain the throne proved abortive. He found himself incapable of either disputing Ratanju's claim or of submitting to his authority. Therefore he considered it advisable to return to Kashtwar. Ratanju now devoted his attention to the affairs of the country undisturbed and therewith dawned a new epoch of justice and tranquillity on Kashmir.

Ratanju was gifted with the qualities of wisdom and justice, and always decided matters in an absolutely impartial spirit, without caring for power or pelf. Malik Haidar Chadaura has recorded the following two cases which, strange as they are, show how solicitous of justice he was, and how resourcefully he acted in deciding cases which would baffle even the wisest heads.

One day his minister's brother, Uttain by name, forcibly took milk from a milkmaid. She cried to Ratanju for justice who ordered that Uttain should be brought into the court. The accused being brought in, Ratanju enquired from him if the milkmaid's complaint was true. The accused totally denied the charge. When asked to furnish further proof, the milk-maid said, "Rip open the stomach of this man instantly and if no milk is found in it, then I and my son might be killed." The stomach was ripped open and found to contain milk.

There are two issues involved in the above case. Firstly how far this method of justice was in itself a commendable one; secondly, whether it is at all possible to find milk in its original condition in the stomach.

As for the first issue, both according to the laws of Islam and the dictates of civilized society this method of meting out justice

1 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by *Rais-ul-Mulk* Malik Haidar Chadaura—MS. p. 121. According to this author 'ji'—master or lord—was used in Kashmir to express one's esteem and respect for a person.

was utterly cruel and primitive; though at that time, perhaps, it did not appear strange to a society which was far behind in its standard of civilisation and had no definite code of laws for its guidance; else Ratanju himself, a lover of justice, would not have followed it. Besides, this matter clearly indicates his complete impartiality, as also his utter disregard of the respective position of the parties before him. Further, it shows how accessable he was that even such small matters were brought up before him and that no impediment was placed in the path of the party seeking justice at his hands.

As for the second issue the milk undergoes no such change in the stomach for two hours as would make its recognition impossible. The only change it undergoes is that it is coagulated.

Two persons had entrusted their mares and their foals to a shepherd. The strange thing about the foals was their uniform age and exactly the same colour. When the mares and the foals were conveyed from their winter quarters to a summer pasturage, one of the foals died. The two mares were unable to realise which of them suffered the loss of its young one, and the result was that the surviving young one continued to suck milk from the breasts of both as it listed. The shepherd too was unable to say which master had lost his mare's foal. The surviving foal, therefore, became a bone of contention between the owners of the mares. The suit was taken to the king who ordered the owners to bring their mares and the foal to a bridge constructed of boats near the city. This being done, the king ordered the foal to be thrown into the river. On this the mother of the foal also jumped into the river. By this ingenious method the king restored the foal to its real owner.

In brief, Ratanju spared no pains in dealing out justice to the administration of which he devoted the remaining days of his life, and for which he issued strict instructions and occasional warnings to his officials.

Being by nature a just and impartial ruler, Ratanju naturally felt the necessity of finding out for himself a religion that would satisfy the yearnings of his soul. After he had restored order in the country he turned his attention to it and sought guidance from the wise and scholarly priests of the Hindu faith, who,

according to Hargopal Koul[2] declined to guide him in the matter, but, according to Birbal Kachur and Malik Haidar Chadaura,[3] they did all they could to enlighten him on the subject, but failed to satisfy him. Their diverse views on religion and their doctrines which militated against each other, only baffled him. Undaunted by this failure, he did not abate his efforts, and it is said that one night he dreamt that a person was telling him : "Early in the morning the next day the first person thou dost behold is thy guide." He acted on this advice and the next morning observed from the roof of his palace a person with his face towards the west apparently engaged in offering his prayers in a manner hitherto unknown to him. He at once went to him and asked him his name and his religion and also the particular prophet whose follower he was. To these enquiries the stranger replied as follows :

"My name is Abdur Rahman ; my religion is Islam ; I worship the one God who has no co-partner and I am a follower of that Prophet whose message has superseded all previous messages and commandments."

The saint next proceeded to relate several of the anecdotes of the Holy Prophet together with a brief account of his mission. The king was deeply impressed by the clear and simple exposition of the saint ; and then and there accepted his faith assuming Sadr-ud-Din as his Islamic name. This conversion marks the beginning of Muslim rule in Kashmir.

After Ratanju, his brother-in-law and commander-in-chief also became a convert to Islam. This example was followed by many nobles, and Islam became so popular that, within the course of two years or so, it could count a fairly large number of its adherents.

During his brief reign Sadr-ud-Din built many buildings in Kashmir. Immediately after his conversion to Islam, he built according to the desire of Bulbul Shah, a grand monastery to

2 *Guldasta-i-Kashmir*, by Pandit Hargopal Koul, Farsi Arya Press, Lahore, Part II, p. 101.

3 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Persian, MS. by Pt. Birbal Kachur, p. 182. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Persian, MS., by *Rais-ul-Mulk* Malik Haidar Chadaura, p. 125.

which he assigned a number of villages so that the expenses of the monastery and the needs of those who either resorted to it or stayed therein for a brief period might be met with from their revenue. It is interesting to note that in course of time the name of the monastery came to be applied to the locality itself. Malik Haidar Chadaura who wrote his history in 1027 A.H., during the reign of Jahangir; writes of this place : "That locality is still flourishing and also the monastery, which has been recently repaired, retains its original condition."

A *Jama* Mosque was also built by Sadr-ud-Din in which Friday and the usual daily prayers were performed : this was evidently an indication of the growing number of the adherents of the Muslim faith.

For his personal residence he had erected an edifice. In the construction of both the palace and the mosque the Sultan used the famous Kashmir stone known as *Deora Kain*. Khwaja Muhammad Azam, a historian of the twelfth century A.H. or the 18th century A.D. writes in his history of Kashmir that "these stones are still found buried under *debris*". Both he and Malik Haidar Chadaura who preceded him and lived in the eleventh century A.H. write that the mosque built by Sultan Sadr-ud-Din had been destroyed by fire, and a smaller one known by the name of King Ratanju's Mosque was built on the same site. In the latter the stones of the former were employed, and we are further told by Khwaja Muhammad Azam that it was very much in use also in his time, and that the usual daily prayers were offered in it.

The Sultan reigned for two years and seven months. He skilfully organised Kashmir into a corporate kingdom during this brief space. When he mounted the throne, Kashmir was completely torn into pieces and sadly suffering from the effects of internecine struggle and strife and all that follows in their wake. He got together the scattered pieces and blended them into a unit. He further found out for himself a faith which did not exist in Kashmir before his time. He passed away in 727 A.H., or 1326 A.D., and was buried in a place to the south of the monastery outside the compound of the shrine of the Saint Bulbul Shah.

If we accept the above date as the year of his demise, then

we shall have to accept the same date for the death of Bulbul Shah because he and his saint are said to have died in the same year.

Among the Sultan's sole survivors were his infant son, Haidar Khan, and his queen Kota Rani who, we have reason to believe and will show subsequently, remained a Hindu. He left his son by a previous arrangement under the personal supervision and tutelage of his trusted councillor, Shah Mir, whom he had chosen to look after the up-bringing and education of his son. It was none but Shah Mir's wife who performed the duties of a foster-mother to the infant king, hence the appellation of foster-father given to Shah Mir by some historians. Further account of Shah Mir will be given in its proper place.

After a brief sway of about three years, Sultan Sadr-ud-Din *alias* Ratanju passed away having introduced Islam into Kashmir. His infant son Haidar Khan being unable to take into his hands the reins of government, Kota Rani, the queen-dowager, began to rule the country.

It is indeed very strange that, herself being the wife of a staunch Muhammadan, she, later on, adopted a course which throws grave doubts on her adhesion to the Muslim faith. But it is equally impossible to assert with any amount of certainty that she was not a Muhammadan. After King Ratanju's public conversion to Islam, she could not in pursuance of the tenets of that creed remain a Hindu being the wife of a Muhammadan, because Islam does not countenance marriage or lawful conjugal relations between a Muslim and a non-Muslim unless the latter is an *Ahl-i-Kitab*. It is not conceiveable how Ratanju, a devout Muhammadan as he was, could have a Hindu lady for his wife. It is admitted that he tolerated this relationship as a result of his own ignorance ; it will have to be admitted at the same time that the charge of conversion under compulsion has no foundation against him. We may also assert that considering her safety and station to lie in a profession of the faith, she might have done so but remained a Hindu at heart. Anyhow her subsequent policy leaves no doubt about her diplomatic professsion of Islam. Immediately after establishing herself on the throne she invited Oodeyan Deva, brother of Raja Simha Deva, from Swadgir whom she married and invested with regal authority.

As a result of Zulju's invasion and his six months' sojourn in Kashmir in 1319 A.D., Oodeyan Deva had fled to Swadgir and Tibet, and stayed there till he was recalled and raised to the throne by Kota Rani. It was by no means a wise choice, because the Rani's consort was not gifted with the noble qualities generally expected of kings. He was cowardly, and lacked wisdom and capacity. The Rani, however, had the foresight to keep all authority in her own hands and herself continued to rule the country, while she allowed her consort to revel in titular sovereignty.

Further proof of the Rani's sagacity is to be found in her appointment of Shah Mir and Pacha Butt Kakapuri, joint commanders of her armies, and in her availing herself of their advice in governing the country. She had a son from Oodeyan Deva, whom she placed under the supervision of Pacha Butt, who was both tutor and foster-father of the prince, his wife having served as foster-mother.

Soon after Oodeyan Deva's return and his elevation to kingship Kashmir had to face another horde of the Tartars led by Urwan, also called Urdil by some historians. Oodeyan Deva likewise consulted his safety in a flight towards Tibet. It will not be out of place here to point out that Pandit Hargopal Koul, author of the *Guldasta-i-Kashmir*, describes this flight as the result of confusion and dread, in which Oodeyan Deva mistook Urwan (Urdil), who had marched across Hirapur, for Zulju. It is, however, refreshing to find that the Rani kept her head cool and did not allow herself to be upset by any such hallucinations.

The Rani showed her sagacity again. She realised that deserted by her consort, she herself must face the enemy with such forces as she could rally round her, otherwise pussillanimity would lead to disastrous results. Consulting her councillor, Shah Mir, she sent round an appeal to all officials, great and small, and the commonality of the realm inviting them to offer a united front to the invaders so as to save their honour, home and hearth. She also recalled to their minds the deplorable condition which prevailed in Kashmir after Zulju's invasion.[4]

4 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chadaura, MS , p. 128.

This appeal elicited a ready response and aroused feelings of patriotism among the subjects who willingly offered their services for the defence of their motherland. When it came to an open fight with the enemy, the latter had to retreat and sue for terms of peace. They were, however, allowed to leave the country unmolested.

Constant in her love, Kota Rani reinstated her consort on the throne, after the enemy had retired from the country. Oodeyan Deva's flight cannot be defended on any plea, nor can it ever exact admiration from any sensible person. On the other hand, his flight so incensed the subjects that they indignantly refused to pay him the respect due to a monarch.

Oodeyan Deva's reign imposed upon Kashmir by circumstances lasted over a period of fifteen years, two months and two days. For this period, historians have recorded nothing but confusion and chaos. It must not be ignored that in this Regime also the councillors were the same as in the previous one ; yet the personality of the king carries an imperceptible influence with it, hence small wonder that their advice little availed the country. In times of crises when their counsel prevailed as on the invasion of the Tartars, the country benefited. All historians attribute Urwan's retreat to Shah Mir's courage and ingenuity and as a result of this, Mir was allowed a far greater hand in the affairs of the country than was ever done before. He had now become the right hand of the Rani and the sole prop of the kingdom.

Left alone by the death of Oodeyan, Kota established herself on the throne removing the court to the foot of Inderkot. In order to successfully execute the duties which now devolved upon her as the sole Monarch of Kashmir, she appointed Pacha Butt Kakapuri as her Chief Minister. Thus she was able to rule the country for five months. The only important event of this period is Shah Mir's revolt.

This action of Shah Mir needs a little explanation. It is evident from the foregoing accounts that Oodeyan Deva was not capable of maintaining himself on his tottering throne without the strong and active support of Shah Mir who had won the hearts of the people through a timely display of his tact, bravery and resourcefulness. It seems that Kota Rani wanted

to checkmate his growing influence by retiring to Inderkot and appointing Pacha Butt as her Chief Minister. Perhaps she foresaw Shah Mir's future ascendancy and hence she took this step which the latter construed to be tantamount to an open challenge. He, therefore, naturally felt insulted and injured at this show of ingratitude for his past services rendered at a time when he could conveniently remove the weak king from the throne. So far it all goes in his favour and clearly indicates his sincerity of purpose. Now Kota Rani's ingratitude impelled him to a course of action which is not and has never been consistent with the dictates of loyalty. Moreover, the kingdom was again falling into chaos and anarchy. This was another incentive to Shah Mir to appropriate all authority to himself.

Some historians have stated that Fauz Shah who was Shah Mir's grandfather had predicted that one of his descendants would rise to the dignity of kingship. It is not difficult to imagine that a prediction like this could not but spur the ambition of Shah Mir who judging from his position and power could successfully defy and set aside the authority of the ruling monarch.

Still Shah Mir did not prefer an open course of rebellion. He at first sent the Queen open proposals of marriage which she rejected with scorn. This refusal of Kota Rani can be explained in several ways. She might have felt an aversion to marry the foster-brother of her own son Haidar Khan, but Islam has not placed any ban on such a union. It is also probable that she might have thought it beneath her dignity to marry a servant of the state. Before this, she had already been the wife of Ratanju who was likewise a servant of king Simha Deva. She was, as a matter of fact, confronted with the same situation as she had been compelled to face after the murder of Ram Chandar.

There could be but one consequence of Kota Rani's rejection of Shah Mir's proposals which immediately manifested itself. Shah Mir invested Inderkot with a large army. The Rani's chief minister was killed in a skirmish, and her nephew Achal Deva, Rawan Chand's son, was only a minor. The majority of her subjects favoured Shah Mir. It was, therefore, small wonder

that some of Kota Rani's adherents deserted her. She had to bow before the supreme will of Shah Mir whom she sent word to organise a wedding assembly in the midst of which she appeared and stabbed herself and died uttering the words: "This is my acceptance." Malik Haidar Chadaura throws no light on this suicide; on the other hand, he declares that the original book which he had drawn upon contained no such account of the Rani's death. At the same time he asserts that the inhabitants of Inderkot corroborate the committal of suicide, but there is this difference in detail, that the Rani stabbed herself in her own apartment and not in a gathering which seems to be quite probable. Rodger's statement (*J.A.S.B.*, Vol. 54, No. 2, p. 98) that Kota Rani spent one day and one night as Shah Mir's wife and that the next day she was seized and sent to prison is, I am afraid, incredible.

Sultan Shams-ud-Din

Shah Mir ascended the throne assuming the title of Sultan Shams-ud-Din, according to Malik Haidar, in the year 753 A.H. Birbal Kachur places his accession in the year 743 A.H. (1342 A.D.) and his death in 747 A.H. (1346 A.D.); Khwaja Muhammad Azam, in his *Tarikh-i-Azami*, and Hasan in his *Tarikh* also give the same dates. Malik Haidar Chadaura, on the other hand, gives 753 A.H. as the year of accession, but omits to mention the date of his death, and contents himself with the remark that Shah Mir ruled for three years and five months. Obviously this is an error and we can safely put the date of Shah Mir's accession as 743 A.H. or 1342 A.D., on the united testimony of Khwaja Azam, Birbal Kachur and Hasan. Pandit Hargopal Koul in his *Guldasta-i-Kashmir* gives 776 A.H. (1359 A.D.) as the year of accession, but this is absurd. Shah Mir's accession is particularly notable for the fact that it marks the firm establishment of Muslim authority in both its religious and secular aspects in Kashmir. It is true that with the conversion of Ratanju Kashmir had come directly under Islamic influence, but its continuity was disturbed by the death of that king and the re-instatement of Hindu authority under Kota Rani and Oodeyan Deva. Shams-ud-Din's descendants continued to exercise sovereign authority

over Kashmir for two centuries. His reign was beneficial for Kashmir as it brought peace and settled government and he fixed one fifth of the produce as land-tax and introduced what is called the Kashmir era from the accession of Ratanju in 725 A.H. (1324 A.D.) which continued till the advent of Mughal rule in the Valley. He raised two families—the Chaks and Magres—to eminence and drew from them his generals and soldiers.

Sultan Jamshed

Shams-ud-Din died in his eightieth year and his eldest son Jamshed succeeded him in 747 A.H. (1346 A.D.) but after a brief rule of fourteen months he was attacked and slain at Vantipur by his younger brother Ali Sher who assumed the title of Ala-ud-Din early in 748 A.H. (1347 A.D.)

There is little of importance recorded by historians about the short reign of Jamshed. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Kashmir Azami* gives the names of three saintly anchorites, namely, Khalasman, Palasman and Yasman who were all brothers and passed their lives in devotion and retirement. The first retained the black colour of his hair in spite of his advanced age. The second brother, it is stated, was junior to the first by three years ; some of his hair had turned grey. The third was the youngest and had grey hair. He differed from the other two in that he had been lured by a woman, Nandi by name, but subsequently repented and converted her to Islam.

Sultan Ala-ud-Din

Sultan Ala-ud-Din reigned for twelve years and eight months and thirteen days. His reign was essentially a period of peace and internal reforms aimed at the alleviation of sufferings, and the amelioration of the hard conditions which were the direct result of Tartar incursions. Towns and cities which had become depopulated were re-populated. A street bearing the name Ala-ud-Dinpura was built at Inderkot and similarly a bridge at Sopur which bore his name. The Sultan showed himself in advance of his time in the matter of social legislation when he promulgated a law that no bad woman should have any inheri-

tance from her husband. A severe famine appeared in the country; the king extended a helping hand to the people of the famine-stricken area with a view to reduce their hardships. Lalla, the hermitess, was born during this reign. The Sultan passed away in the year 761 A.H. or 1359 A.D. and was buried in the Ala-ud-Dinpura street at Inderkot. Two sons, namely, Sultan Shihab-ud-Din and Sultan Qutb-ud-Din survived him. The first named succeeded him.

It is difficult to say what exactly led the Muslim rulers of Kashmir to adopt the title of Sultan. In this connection let us turn to *The Caliphate* and see how the title was assumed by Muslim rulers. The history of the title 'Sultan' in the Muhammadan world has not yet been fully worked out, says Sir Thomas Arnold.[5] The word itself occurs in the Quran merely in the abstract sense of 'power, authority', but as early as the end of the first century of the *Hijra* it was used in Egyptian Papyri as the common expression for governor of a province. So, continues Sir Thomas, it came to be applied to an official to whom power had been delegated. As independent rulers set themselves up in the provinces of the empire, it became common among them to adopt the title Sultan, and in this respect the Seljuks appear to have set the example, though it is commonly asserted that Mahmud of Ghazni (998-1030 A.D.) was the first Muslim potentate of importance to so style himself. Like many other titles, it gained in dignity by being assumed by great and powerful monarchs, while petty provinces contented themselves with the name, Malik, Khan, etc. The influence of Central Asia and Afghanistan apparently, therefore, seems to be responsible for the introduction of the term in Kashmir.

Sultan Shihab-ud-Din

Shihab-ud-Din succeeded his father[6] Ala-ud-Din in 761 A.H. (1359 A.D.). Previous to his assumption of the reins of govern-

5 *The Caliphate* by Sir Thomas Arnold, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924, p. 202.

6 Some historians have made a curious mistake in calling Shihab-ud-Din and Qutb-ud-Din as the brothers of Sultan Ala-ud-Din.

ment he was known as Siamuk. His reign represents the most glorious period of the rule of the Sultans of Kashmir for the military prowess shown by the Kashmiris. He was the first of the Kashmiri Muslim monarchs who marched out for the purpose of making foreign conquests. Shortly after his accession he thoroughly reorganised his military forces and having conquered Kashtwar and Jammu proceeded with an army consisting of 50,000 horse and 5,00,000 foot through the Punjab and encamped on the banks of the Indus where he was opposed by the ruler of Sind (Briggs' "Firishta", volume iv, p. 458) whom he completely defeated. The defeat was so crushing that when the report reached the kingdoms of Qandahar and Ghazni the rulers of those places became apprehensive lest he should next make a descent upon them. He, however, invaded Peshawar where he put to death many of the inhabitants who opposed him and thence threaded the passes of the Hindu Kush. According to Newall, the Sultan subdued Tibet, Kashghar, Badakhshan and Kabul. On his return he encamped on the banks of the Sutlej. Here he was met by the Raja of Nagarkot who had returned from a plundering excursion into the country round Delhi, and having come back laden with spoils, he placed them at the feet of Shihab-ud-Din and acknowledged fealty to him. It is noteworthy that after his conquests, Shihab-ud-Din always behaved like a brave soldier and generously restored the kingdom to his fallen foe. The Sultan overran the Punjab, and took possession of Multan and fought a battle near Ferozepur against the armies of Ferozshah Tughlaq, whom he worsted but a peace was arranged through the intercession of Mir Syed Ali Hamadani who had arrived in Kashmir in 774 A.H. (1372 A.D.). According to the terms of peace Feroz Shah acknowledged the Sultan's supremacy over the whole of the Punjab from Peshawar down to Sirhind.[7]

7 My statement of the conquests of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din is based on the authorities of almost all the known Persian historians of Kashmir and Lt. Newall and Mr. Rodgers, but it is indeed extraordinary that Indian or provincial histories dealing with this period should make no mention of Shihab-ud-Din's conquests. They make no mention even

It is to the credit of Shihab-ud-Din that he was not only a great conqueror but a builder too. The towns of Lachhminagar and Shihabpura were built by him. For his soldiers he constructed barracks and sedulously repaired the devastations caused by the former invasions of the Tartars which had impoverished the country. Land revenue was properly re-assessed. The Sultan encouraged learning and proclaimed an equal administration of the laws. An event of great importance in his reign was the birth of Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, the patron-saint of Kashmir in 779 A.H.

It is, however, recorded that there was some trouble caused by the custodians of certain temples which led to the demolition of the chief fane at Bijbaror or Bijbihara.

Hindal, the Sultan's younger brother was made heir-apparent, because his two sons, Hasan Khan and Ali Khan, had fled to Delhi being declared outlaws and expelled from the kingdom probably at the instigation of the Sultan's second wife. And although Hasan Khan was recalled, he reached Jammu when Shihab-ud-Din had breathed his last.

Shihab-ud-Din reigned for about twenty years and died in 781 A.H. (1379 A.D.). His rule of twenty years raised Kashmir and the Kashmiris to a great fighting power who went out as a conquering nation. Jammu, Tibet, Punjab, Sind, Nagarkot, Ghazni, Qandahar Kashghar and Badakhshan and even Delhi all bowed to the Sultan, who was loved at home for his just and humane administration and feared abroad for the valour of his arm and the strength of his armies.

Sultan Qutb-ud-Din

On the death of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din his brother Hindal ascended the throne in 781 A.H. (1379 A.D.) and assumed the title of Sultan Qutb-ud-Din. Firishta says that this Sultan was remarkable for his extreme attention to public business which he transacted in person and generally with justice and moderation.

of the re-conquest of the Punjab by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. I suppose these were mere conquests and did not lead to any long, well-established occupation.

The latter part of his reign was disturbed by troubles at the bottom of which was his nephew Hasan Khan. When Lohkot revolted the Sultan deputed an officer with a force to reduce it. At first the royal force was routed but soon after Rai Rawal, the ruler of Lohkot, was seized and executed, and Hasan Khan who had abetted the Rai was imprisoned.

Mir Syed Ali Hamadani arrived for the second time in Srinagar in 781 A.H. and was received with great favour. Under the influence of the great Syed the Sultan gave more his time to meditation and prayer and became a great *sufi* poet. Famine occurred more than once during the time of the Sultan, but he successfully coped with the situation by his generosity and saved the people from starvation.

Qutb-ud-Din had two sons Sikandar and Haibat, and died after having reigned for a period of fifteen years in 796 A.H. (1393 A.D.). Sultan Sikandar succeeded him.

Sultan Sikandar

Sikandar ascended the throne in 796 A.H. (1393 A.D.). He seems to have possessed a passion for enforcing religious law in all state affairs. His Justice and passionate desire for religious uniformity have come down to us in the following lines[8] of a Persian poet of which the last also gives the year of accession, namely, 796 A.H. :

شاه عادل سکندر ثانی — که زوی یافت سرفرازی تاج
ملکی روشن بنور شرع اوست — گرچه بوده زکفر چون شب داج
بهر تاریخ سال سلطنتش — عقل گفتا به شرع داده رواج

His mother Hura[9] was the source of considerable strength to him in the earlier part of his reign. In fact, her personality kept down all mischief, while she herself being gifted with a strong mind could strike terror into the hearts of malefactors. She put an end to the lives of her daughter and son-in-law, Shah Muhammad, thereby nipping in the bud a rebellion which

8 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chadaura, p. 138.
9 Firishta gives her name as Sura Begum.

the latter was secretly instigating and which might have proved formidable.

We are told that Sikandar was particularly inclined towards militarism, which led to a complete transformation of his army. It is also stated that his military undertakings were seldom unsuccessful.

Side by side with this spirit of militarism his diplomacy and sagacity were of no mean order. These qualities stood him in good stead particularly in the event of his brother Mirza Haibat Khan's death by poison, caused by Rai Madri,[10] the minister. The king observing the influence of the minister delayed revenge. On the other hand, Rai Madri feeling that he had been suspected, induced his royal master to give him permission to punish the insurgents in Little Tibet. The minister's aim was to secure for himself a principality which would place him beyond the reach of the king's vengeance.

The king, on the other hand, hoped to get rid of his minister by sending him on military expedition. Success attended the arms of Rai Madri which raised his reputation and strength and finally feeling himself safe he proclaimed his independence. The king seized this opportunity and marched upon him with a huge army and inflicted a crushing defeat. The minister was seized, but soon died in prison, while the king's attention was occupied in restoring order in the regained principality of Little Tibet.

When Timur descended upon India, Sikandar acted wisely in sending his representative to him, because he was aware of the terrible fate of other princes who had tried to stem the tide of Timur's march by offering resistance. He received from Timur a robe of honour and an elephant and that Monarch's letter patent as marks of favour. Thus there opened up between the two monarchs means of further negotiations. *Maulana* Nur-ud-Din Badakhshi, a distinguished follower of Shah Hamadan, was deputed by Sikandar to take costly presents to Timur who in acknowledgement sent a message expressing his desire to see Sikandar, and asking him to be ready to see Timur. Certain nobles of the latter's entourage, however, sent word that Sikandar should also keep in readiness thirty thou-

10 Firishta says Ray Makry.

sand horses and one lakh of gold coins as a present to the great conqueror. On this the younger son of the king, Zain-ul-Abidin, then known as Shahi Khan, was despatched to wait on Timur and inform him that Sikandar was busy in arranging for the present which Timur's nobles had desired to be kept in readiness. It is needless to say that this disclosure brought Timur's anger on their head. Sikandar then proceeded to meet Timur on the bank of the Indus on the 13th of *Rajab* 801 A.H., (1398 A.D.) but Timur had, in the meantime, crossed the Indus and was proceeding towards Samarqand; the former, therefore, returned to Kashmir having gone as far as Baramula. Sikandar then sent his son, Zain-ul-Abidin, to further strengthen the relations of friendship existing between Timur and himself.

The Sultan's subjects greatly benefited from the remission by him of two imposts and taxes, namely, tribute and the *tamgha.*[11]

Although Sikandar himself had received no high or intensive education, nevertheless his patronage of letters attracted scholars from all parts of Asia chiefly from Khorasan, Transoxiana and Mesopotamia. The most notable person among these scholars was *Maulana* Afzal[12] who hailed from Bokhara and was on his arrival, placed at the head of the grand college opposite to the great mosque. He passed all his life in lecturing to students. The king had assigned to him the village of Nagam for his maintenance. He was buried in the enclosure of the tomb of Syed Taj-ud-Din in Shihabpura.

Being himself a rigid Muhammadan who carefully observed all the practices of his religion, he put an end to all practices which were contrary to the *Shariat* of Islam. The sale and distillation of wine, *sati*, gambling, prostitution and music were all tabooed. The "tamgha" tax to which reference has already been made above was abolished. Islamic courts of justice were established, upright and honest and learned judges were appointed.

Besides his zeal for religion and sound administration, he also

11 A tax which was levied upon all irrespective of nationality and religion.

12 *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, p. 290.

had a passion for raising buildings like Feroz Shah among the Tughlaq Emperors of India. Many mosques and monasteries were built in his time. The first building he erected was a monastery raised as a *Ziarat* to the saint, Syed Ali of Hamadan. The year of its erection is embodied in these words :

مسجد اسس علی التقوی

[A mosque raised on the foundation of God's fear.]
These words were, later on, versified as follows :

مسجد اسس علی التقوی   خانقہ میرھمدان است

He also built the grand mosque in which mosaic work was executed without any remuneration by two well-known mosaic painters, Syed Muhammad of Luristan and Syed Sadr-ud-Din, both old companions of the great Shah Hamadan. Many indeed were the structures raised by Sikandar whose site and ruins cannot be traced today.

Syed Muhammad Hamadani, the son of Shah Hamadan, accompanied by about three hundred, or as some historians assert, seven hundred followers came to Kashmir, and the Sultan too became one of this disciples and was now fired with a zeal to change the character of his rule into a purely Islamic administration, and a considerable advance was made in this direction. As his orders in this behalf were carried out either by Muhammadan converts or other officials, the Sultan's object could not be achieved without the destruction of some idols and temples which wounded the susceptibilities of the Hindus. The saint, on being apprised, told the king that all that was done either at his bidding or through his connivance was not sanctioned by Islam which counted more on personal example and love than violence for its propagation. These words so impressed the Sultan that he at once put an end to such activities which were carried out by his agents to tarnish his good name and obtain money for themselves.

After a sway of nearly twenty-five years, he contracted a violent fever before his death and summoning all his three sons, namely, Mir Khan, Shahi Khan and Muhammad Khan he exhorted them to remain united and not stir up strife and obey Mir Khan

whom he announced his successor with the title of Ali Shah. He passed away on the 22nd of *Muharram* 820 A.H. (1417 A.D.) and was buried within the premises once occupied by Looi Shore Temple, in its northern side.

Lieutenant Newall[13] says that partly by the influence of Timur and partly no doubt urged by the fanatic Muslims who had lately entered his country, Sikandar was about this period instigated to religious persecution and he began to force his subjects to abjure idolatory and thereby acquired the surname of *Butshikan* or Iconoclast.

These remarks will, no doubt, give one the impression that the Sultan himself was responsible for all this persecution and destruction of temples. It cannot be gainsaid that the advent in his country of Muslim doctors and preachers and other immigrants had infused a new spirit in him to propagate his faith. He was, however, outdistanced in this matter by Siya Butt, his minister, who subsequently embraced Islam was re-named Saif-ud-Din and ran before his master. The persecutions and the demolition of temples had taken place at the hands of this zealot and other converts who became relentless instruments of persecution for the adherents of their old faith. In the words of Rodgers,[14] the minister's zeal in the persecution of his former co-religionists has seldom been seen in the history of religious turn-coats. At his instance the king ordered the destruction of several temples, forbade the use of the *tika* on the head and also enforced the abolition of *sati*. On moral as well as humanitarian grounds we cannot accuse the Sultan of abolishing the practice of *sati*; as a matter of fact, he only forestalled Bentinck in this respect. At the same time, one cannot entirely exonerate him from the heavy responsibility of countenancing the religious persecution practised by his ministers and officials who were at least men of his choice. In fairness to the Sultan we must not, however, omit to mention that his age was the age of religious persecution and it is a strange coincidence that his rule should have been

13 *A Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmir*, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5 1854, p. 415.

14 *The Square Silver Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir*, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 2, 1885, p. 101.

contemporaneous with the persecution of Lollards in England. We must not forget that his first minister was a Hindu—Rai Madri, who poisoned his brother Haibat Khan subsequently. Not only this : his commander-in-chief also was a Hindu Brahman who professed Islam at the hands of Mir Muhammad Hamadani. The Sultan was in no way bound to keep a Hindu minister or commander-in-chief. He could invite prominent men for these offices, if he so desired. Herein we get conclusive proof to the effect that he was not a stark bigot as some historians have tried to paint him. According to Lawrence, Sikandar was "brave and cultured". "Sikandar," says Rodgers,[15] "was an exceedingly generous man. Hearing of this, learned men from Iraq and Khorasan and Mavara-un-Nahr flocked to his court in such numbers that it became an example to the courts of those provinces." Such a man ill-deserves the wildest condemnation that is heaped on his head !

Sultan Ali Shah

Mir Khan, surnamed Ali Shah (whom Rodgers wrongly calls Ali Sher) succeeded to his father's dominions in 1417 A.D. Very little is known about his reign. Firishta records that this king also had Siya Butt for his minister, who distinguished himself by persecuting the Hindus till he died of blood-spitting. The king thereupon appointed his own brother Shahi Khan in his place. Shortly after this, the king resolved to proceed to Mecca on a pilgrimage and entrusted his kingdom to the joint solicitude of his brothers[16] Shahi Khan and Muhammad Khan. On his arrival at Jammu the governor who was also his[17] father-in-law,[18] re-

15 *The Square Silver Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir*, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 2, 1885, p. 101.

16 Malik Haidar Chadaura mentions only one brother, namely Shahi Khan to be the person to whom Ali Shah left his kingdom. Firishta mentions the other brother also. *See* Briggs, vol. iv, p. 467.

17 Malik Haidar Chadaura, p. 142, whose statement is based on the authority of *Maulana* Nadiri, a contemporary of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.

18 The father-in-law of Ali Shah is said to have been converted to Islam by Timur, (Hutchison and Vogel, *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, vol. vii, p. 117.)

monstrated with him for relinquishing the throne. The Sultan changed his mind and assisted by his father-in-law and the Raja of Rajauri tried to recover his throne and advanced by way of Pakhli whereupon his brothers resisted him.

Historians are at variance about the immediate result of this fratricidal contest. Firishta, and Fauq who follows him, assert that the Sultan was at first successful at Sialkot[19] and his brother Shahi Khan, subsequently known as Zain-ul-Abidin sought help from Jasrat Khan Gakhar and succeeded in defeating and taking Ali Shah as prisoner who died at Chadaura.[20] The final result was the passing away of the kingdom into the hands of Shahi Khan (and not Shady Khan as Briggs has wrongly put it) in the year 826 A.H. (1422 A.D.). Ali Shah reigned six years and nine months. The only event of importance is the loss of Little Tibet which must be set against the incompetence of Ali Shah.

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidín

With the assumption of sovereignty by Zain-ul-Abidin there opened up an era of glory and conquest for Kashmir, his reign constituting a climax of grandeur ever attained by any independent king in Kashmir as will presently appear from a perusal of the following pages.

Zain-ul-Abidin had already been minister to his brother, the late king, and had had opportunities of showing his excellent and noble qualities to the people of Kashmir. His accession was, therefore, hailed with joy both by Hindus and Muhammadans. The following line which gives the year of his accession is also expressive of the general feeling towards him prevailing at that time:

سایۂ الطاف خدائے واہب

(The shadow of the favours of the munificent God.) This chronogram gives the year 826 A.H. (1422 A.D.) as the date of his accession.

19 Briggs, vol. iv, p. 468.

20 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chadaura, p. 142.

Shortly after assuming regal authority Zain-ul-Abidin nominated his brother Muhammad Khan to the office of Prime Minister, and associated with him Raina and Ahmad. Raina to that of joint command of his forces. Malik Masaud was appointed *Madar-ul-Mahamm*. The king retained in his possession the office of Chief Justice till he was able to find a suitable judge in the person of Qazi Jamal-ul-Din who hailed from Hindustan. Zain-ul-Abidin is specially remarkable for the versatility of his genius, and his patronage of various arts which contributed very largely to the material and economic progress of the country and considerably increased its reputation. Before his reign Kashmir was not so well-known but the impetus he gave to the various arts and crafts of his country made it famous abroad, and the products of its industries were highly appreciated and fetched high prices in other lands.

It might be safely asserted that in the matter of erecting buildings, Zain-ul-Abidin was really the Shah Jahan of Kashmir. Many important buildings and townships, e.g., Zaina Kot, Zaina Pura, Zaina Marg and Zaina Gir testify to his great taste and passion for architecture. Their remains may still be traced. He caused palaces and grand buildings to be constructed in every *pargana* and in most villages, so that when he proceeded on his tours the people might not be subjected to any hardship on that account. He also built *caravan sarais* and resting-places by the road-side for the convenience of travellers and thereby forestalled the Safavi kings of Persia.

About the origin and history of the island in the Wulur all historians have recorded the following story :

This island was an inhabited place[21] in the days of a dissolute and tyrannical raja, Sundar Sena by name, whose subjects did not lag behind in copying him. Kalal, a saint, who lived in those days, exhorted both the king and his subjects to give up dissolution, but no one heeded the saint's exhortations. One day at last he left the place in disgust after warning the inhabitants of a retribution which would change their island into a lake. His prognostication turned out to be true, and a physical disturbance turned the island into a lake and as such it remained

21 Fauq's *Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, vol. ii, p. 41.

down to the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin who conceived the idea of raising a palace in the middle of it. With the help of divers he was able to lay its foundations on the remains of a temple. In addition to the palace, a mosque which still exists was also raised. A poet has immortalised this structure in the following verse[22]:

این بقعه چو بنیاد فلک محکم باد　　مشهورترین زبهشت درعالم باد

تازین عباد اندر آن جشن کنند　　پیوسته چو تاریخ نودش خرم باد

The king named the island Zaina Lank. He also erected at Naushehra a grand palace, twelve stories high, each of fifty rooms; and improved and added to the beauty of Srinagar.[23]

In most of his enterprises the Sultan was guided by his experience gained at Samarqand during his eight years' stay there. Timur had spared no pains in adorning and improving his capital, and Zain-ul-Abidin's keen eye thoroughly realized the underlying causes of its greatness, so that when he ascended the throne he adopted every possible means of uplifting his country. He invited artisans and craftsmen from Iran, Turan, Turkistan and Hindustan and offered them high prospects and concessions to settle down in Kashmir, for instance, Chunnu, the expert firework artist who taught his art to many others, and Jab, another well-known man, who made gun-powder. Acrobats made Kashmir their home. Music flourished to an extent never known before. It is, therefore, chiefly through his exertions that even today Kashmir enjoys a high position in several arts and crafts, e.g., woodcarving, paper-making, *shawl*-weaving and carpentry. He also sent individuals from among his own subjects to other countries to learn certain industries. Some of the arts were imported into India. He forbade merchants to hide merchandise in their own houses and compelled them to expose it for sale at a reasonable profit. He devoted his attention to medical science as well and provided facilities for his subjects by establishing state hospitals to overcome disease. It is interesting to note that the great families of physicians famous in Delhi and Lucknow originally came from Kashmir.

22 Malik Haidar Chadaura's *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 145.
23 Lieut. Newall, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, p. 416.

Zain-ul-Abidin's love for letters was in no way inferior to that for arts and crafts. His interest in the intellectual growth and development of his subjects was keen and unflagging, and he extended his patronage to scholars in as unstinted a measure as to artisans and craftsmen; hence the great influx into Kashmir of scholars and men of letters from other lands. For reasons of space it is impossible to give an account of all the *litterateurs* of his court; therefore a very brief account of only the most notable among them is given below.[24]

1. *Maulana Kabir* : He was originally a Kashmiri by birth who had, in his youth, migrated to Herat at which place he studied theology and all its allied sciences. The king, after great attempts induced him to return to Kashmir, where he held the office of *Sheikh-ul-Islam* He was also placed at the head of the University for the upkeep and maintenance of which the revenues of several villages in the Nagam *Pargana* were assigned.

2. *Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri* : He was the pupil of *Mulla* Afzal of Bokhara who had come to Kashmir during the reign of Sultan Sikandar. He was a profound scholar, a distinguished poet and an excellent historian. *Tarikh-Waqai-Kashmir* and a translation of the *Mahabharata* are counted among his works.

3 & 4. *Mulla Hafiz Baghdadi and Mullah Parsa* were two other scholars who spent their lives in delivering lectures and imparting instruction in the Royal University. They were both immigrants, the first one being from Baghdad as his name denotes.

5. *Mulla Qazi Jamal-ud-Din* : As has been stated previously he originally came from Hindustan, and was leading an austere and secluded life at the monastery of Shah Hamadan, imparting knowledge to those who sought it. His introduction in the king's court took place in a strange manner.[25] He used to write petitions for persons who had either a law suit or sought redress for some grievance, and the king was deeply impressed by his scholarship as he perused the petitions presented to him. The king's ignorance of him excited his imagination and rendered him all the more eager to see him.

Once a petition in verse from the *Mulla's* pen came up before

24 *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, p. 290.
25 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chadaura, MS., p. 147.

the king, in which the former had deplored the demise of Sultan Sikandar, the last line of the petition was :

شہی کہ بود مرادش بجائے مسکیناں   بجان ودل طلبید دعائے مسکیناں

On reading this petition the king could no longer restrain his desire to see the *Mulla* and despatched a noble to bring him to the court. He was received with marked respect and honour by the king to whom he presented a volume of one of his works. The king later appointed him Chief Justice for the whole of his kingdom.

6. Another scholar of marked distinction in this reign who also held the office of Qazi was *Maulana Qazi* Mir Ali Bokhari who came from Bokhara and was held in high esteem by the king and received a *jagir* for his maintenance.

7. *Syed Hussain Qummi Razavi*, a learned theologian, who had renounced his home to preach Islam came to Kashmir and was invited by the Sultan to stay in Bagh-i-Zainagir, which is now known as Syed-pura or Saidah-pura after the learned Syed.

Zain-ul-Abidin was also "a patron of Sanskrit learning and occasionally a pilgrim to the ancient *Tirthas* of the valley,"[26] and during his peaceful reign Hindu traditions re-asserted themselves while the country enjoyed something like a return of its old prosperity. It is, therefore, small wonder that his patronage did not exclude the Hindu[27] scholars, the most distinguished among them being the following :

1. Soma (or according to another account, Dasum) was a Kashmiri scholar thoroughly conversant with Persian, Sanskrit and his own language in which as also in Hindi he composed verses. He held a high post in the Translation Bureau and wrote an account of Zain-ul-Abidin's life in his book, the *Zaina Charit*, erroneously stated as *Zaina Harab*.

2. Bodhi Butt was an exceedingly intelligent person endowed with a marvellous memory. He knew by heart the whole of the *Shah Nama*, for which the king had an unbounded passion. His

26 Dr. Stein's introduction to his English translation of *Rajatarangini*, vol. i, p. 131.

27 *Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Fauq, vol, ii, p. 60.

duty lay in reciting portions of this book for the king's delectation, because his recital of it was extremely charming and impressive.

3. Jonaraja was a scholar of Sanskrit and an historian of remarkable merit who brought Kalhana's work up to date and re-wrote the same in verse thus making it a counterpart of *Shah Nama*. The king rewarded him with his customary liberality.

It is evident that all these literary activities with all their incidental expenses could not have continued and acquired the volume they did unless the king himself were a scholar "well-versed in the literature of his age"[28] and thoroughly conversant with a number of languages. His activities in the domain of literature and scholarship were not confined to translations of books among which the translation of the *Mahabharata* holds a prominent place; he spent huge sums, sent his men to various places, and thus collected a library which could favourably vie with the one collected by the Samanids. This library remained intact and immune from change down to the days of Fateh Shah approximately for a period of one hundred years, after which like all other types of mundane properties it also perished.[29]

It has been remarked that Zain-ul-Abidin, while a prince had spent eight years at Timur's court at Samarqand and made the best possible use of his powers of observation which later on stood him in good stead after his accession to the throne. Samarqand in those days was the *rendezvous* of the best intellects of the age. It is, therefore, not improbable that he cultivated, among other things, a love for poetry, and derived much delight from the company of poets whose number at his court was not negligible. The most brilliant among them was one *Mulla* Ahmad Kashmiri whose *nom de guerre* was Qutb. Malik Haidar Chadaura has quoted the following two lines of this poet:[30]

28 Lt. Newall, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, p. 416.

29 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chadaura, p. 135.

30 *Ibid.*, p. 145

Fauq has ascribed these lines to Sultan Qutb-ud-Din and has also given the last couplet of the *ghazal* which is as follows :

قطب مسکین گر گناہے می کند عیشش مکن ، عیب نبود گر گناہے می کند دیوانۂ

اے بگرد شمع رویت عالمے پروانۂ   وز لب شیرین تو شوریست درهر خانۂ
من بچندین آشنائی می خورم خون جگر   آشنا را حال این است وائے بر بیگانۂ

Mulla Ahmad and Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin had at times contests in improvisation. Once the *Mulla* appeared in the Sultan's presence with the tassel of his turban hanging on his forehead, whereupon the Sultan improvised the following couplet :

شاخ بید پیشانیٔ ملا احمد کشمیری ببین   گر ندیدستی تو در آفاق گاو شاخدار

To this the *Mulla* replied with the couplet :

شاخ پیشانیٔ خدیوا گرگی واری داشتم   تا نیایم درمیان ماده گاوان در شمار

The Sultan was so delighted with the ready wit of the *Mulla* that he rewarded him munificently.

As a result of intrigue by his enemies, the *Mulla* fell into disgrace and was consequently banished. After reaching Pakhli he sent the following couplets to the Sultan :

نے به نجوم ز مبتدا خبرے ،   نے به منطق ز جزو کل اثرے
برمن این کسر و جر چرا دانند   احمد از غیرمنصرف خوانند

The Sultan was greatly moved by a perusal of these lines and forthwith sent orders to the *Mulla* to return.

When the Sultan ascended the throne, the army numbered 100,000 foot and 30,000 cavalry. He so organised it as to leave no possibility of a rebellion or rising. Moreover, his personal treatment of the officers so charmed them that at his bidding they were ready to march with their men right unto the jaws of death. He re-conquered the Punjab and added Western Tibet (probably between 1460 and 1470 A.D.) to his dominion. It appears that in the course of his conquest of the Punjab he

Malik Haidar Chadaura, on the other hand, takes these lines to have been composed by *Mulla* Ahmad. Considering that Malik Haidar's history is an epitome of the works of *Maulana* Nadri and *Mulla* Ahmad Fauq's ascription falls to the ground.

halted at Amritsar where old Kashmiris still repeat the tradition about his halt and say that he had a well dug out in the locality known after him as "Bud Khu" which was subsequent called "Butt Khu" on account of the influx of the Kashmiri Pandits in that quarter of the city.

Besides putting down internecine conspiracies and removing such elements as tended to disturb the tranquillity of his realm, the Sultan further proceeded to enter into friendly relations with his immediate neighbours as well as the potentates and rulers of distant lands. He sent ambassadors with adequate presents and letters to the kings of Khorasan, Turkistan, Siestan and the Sultan of Turkey, the ruler of Egypt, and Sultan Bahlol Lodhi, Sultan Mahmud Begra of Gujrat and the Sharif of Mecca. The king of Tibet sent him a pair of extremely beautiful geese to which a strange performance was attributed, namely, that they could separate milk and water and drink milk and leave the water in the vessel.

Among other measures adopted by the Sultan there were certain laws relating to the Hindus which vouchsafed to them a just administration and a trial of their cases according to their own laws. The odious persecutionary measures instituted by Siya Butt, Sikandar's Prime Minister, were revoked and a general toleration of all religions was proclaimed. The Brahmins and the Hindus who had migrated during the last Regime were recalled. Complete religious independence was granted and some of the temples which had been demolished in the last reign were rebuilt and permission was accorded to erect new ones. The Sultan remitted the poll-tax and granted *jagirs* to Hindus and did away with the killing of cows. He further encouraged his Hindu subjects by taking into his service such men from among them as deserved his patronage and recognition of merit. It is also remarkable that the *karkun* (state service) and *bachh bat* (priestly) classes of Brahmins came into being and obtained recognition in this reign.

The Sultan provided his subjects with a code of laws and had them all engraved on copper plates and placed in public markets and halls of justice. He was in this respect, perhaps, the first law-giver of Kashmir. He abhorred every kind of bloodshed, and rarely put to death any offender for a petty crime. It is re-

corded of him, says Rodgers, that he gave away 400 camel-loads for the repose of the soul of a man whom he had executed because he had been guilty of the death of his brother. The Sultan released all the prisoners of former kings. When the Chaks set fire to his Grand Zaina Dab (a magnificent palace twelve stories high), he drove them back and had their leader flogged to death, but took his son, Husain Chak, into favour. This mildness of temper and lenity in judgment did not, however, encourage any crime in the country. He devoted particular attention to the agriculturist class and adopted many measures which enormously improved their condition. He did not even spare himself and personally supervised the construction of several bridges, canals and aqueducts, rendering thereby a large portion of Kashmir arable and irrigated. He added to the length of the *jarib* (chain), and the yard ; revised the land assessment reducing it to a fourth of the total produce in some places and to a seventh in others. The village-folk and farmers were further protected from the exactions of revenue officers by a law which prohibited the latter from accepting any gifts. He took a further stride in raising the status of those placed in a low position but at the same time took precautions that they may not become impudent and 'wax fat and kick'.

Historians have sometimes instituted a comparison between him and Akbar. It is essential in the first place not to forget that they were not contemporaries. Zain-ul-Abidin was, moreover, the Sultan of Kashmir and parts of Tibet and the Punjab, while Akbar held under his sway a kingdom which far exceeded that of Zain-ul-Abidin. As a matter of fact, there is no comparison between the two in the matter of the extent of their kingdoms the only point of similitude being the popularity enjoyed by both the monarchs. A more careful observation, however, will clearly shows that even in this respect they were poles apart. Akbar had resorted to a partial renunciation of his religion; to the invention of a hotch-potch-faith of his own to which he gave the name of "Divine Faith" and to matrimonial alliances with the Rajput princes. Zain-ul-Abidin's greatness lies, indeed, in this that, wilhout compromising his religion or having recourse to any of such measures of policy, he was able to command as much love and respect from his Hindu subjects—perhaps more

than—Akbar did. It is, nevertheless, true to say that in his aims and objects the monarch stood for what Akbar always pursued and kept in view. Again, in their private life we see Akbar's *harem* adorned by a number of queens; Zain-ul-Abidin, on the other hand, possessed the virtue so rare among crowned monarchs whether of the East or the West, of contenting himself with only one wife. The following incident further throws light on this aspect of his private character. "At this time tributary Hindu chiefs observed the practice of sending a daughter to the *harem* of the lord paramount and it is related that Sundara Sena, the chief of Rajapuri (the ancient name of Rajauri) whose accession is fixed at about 1450 A.D. sent his eldest daughter, Rajya Devi, to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. On her arrival in Kashmir the king was engaged in sport on the Wulur Lake and seeing the lady's party coming, he asked one of his attendants the question : 'What mother's *Doli* is that ?' On hearing that it was the Rajauri princess sent to him, he said, 'As I have already called her 'mother' how can I receive her as a wife.' She was, therefore, sent to the *harem*, where she afterwards became a Muhammadan and the Rajwir or Rajauri Kadal, a bridge over the Mar canal in Srinagar, was built by her." (J. Hutchison & J. Ph. Vogel, *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, vol. ix, part ii, p. 145.) Jahangir writing about the piety of Zain-ul-Abidin says that he passed many periods of forty days in his Zaina Lank and adds that the Sultan is said to have performed many miracles (Elliot and Dowson, vol. vi, p. 306). For his own private use Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin expended the proceeds of his copper mines only. Akbar was fond of hunting. Zain-ul-Abidin forbade hunting. In fact, during Ramazan he never ate flesh and never executed persons for theft : in this respect he was, therefore, three hundred years ahead of England. Such, in brief, was this king—the patron of arts and crafts, friend of his cultivators, promoter of learning and scholarship, benefactor of the Hindus and well-wisher of his subjects.

Zain-ul-Abidin was singularly unfortunate in having unworthy sons. When they displayed an evil disposition to each other, the Sultan sent the eldest, Adham Khan, with an army probably in 1451 A.D. to Little Tibet, which was in those days to Kashmir as Algiers or Tunis was to France during the latter part of the

nineteenth century and despatched the second son, Haji Khan, to subdue Lohkot.

Zain-ul-Abidin's life was somewhat embittered towards its close owing to the jealousy prevailing among his sons who unfortunately did not prove to be the worthy sons of a worthy father. The wise king realised with dismay that it would be better to separate them. He, therefore, placed the eldest son Adham Khan whose manners always repelled the king, at the head of a large army charging him to invade Tibet. Haji, the second son, was ordered to proceed against Lohkot; the youngest, Beiram or Behram, remained with the king. Both sons were victorious and returned covered with glory. The second who was also the king's favourite son turned his arms against his father.[31] The two armies met on the plain of Bubel. Adham Khan, the elder, stood by his father who at first tried to bring round the rebellious son through persuasion. Haji's army attacked the Sultan's and the fight continued from sunrise till sunset. Haji being unable to stand the royal forces fled to Hamirpur, and thence fell back upon the town of Nir. Adham Khan followed him, but orders from the Sultan restrained his pursuit.

The Sultan further ordered Adham Khan to march against the fort of Gujraj—which place was reduced to subjection and such of its inhabitants as had instigated Haji Khan to rebellion were remorselessly executed. This last step caused a good number of Gujraj soldiers in Haji's army to desert him. Adham Khan was declared the king's successor for his gallant behaviour at this critical juncture. But he proved a failure. His maladministration at Gujraj was repeatedly reported to the Sultan for whose admonitions he sent an unfilial rejoinder by raising the standard of revolt at Qutb-ud-Dinpura. He invited Haji's cooperation, who tried to turn the situation to his own advantage by attacking the elder brother, but suffered a severe reverse at Shivapur. The Sultan then sent his army against Adham Khan, it was now Adham's turn to sustain a defeat with con-

31 Briggs, vol. iv, p. 471. It might be assumed that the object of this move was Adham Khan, as the two brothers were never amicable to each other.

siderable loss of army, after which he fled to the town of Shivapur hotly pursued by the king. Haji followed the fortunes of war with a shrewd eye, and at this time arrived at Baramula. The king sent his youngest son Beiram Khan to welcome him on his arrival. Adham Khan sought safety in fleeing to the banks of Nilab. Haji, now penitent and submissive, was declared heir-apparent in place of his elder brother, and also tried to make *amende honorables* for his past misbehaviour.

The king, however, was sorely troubled to observe that his favourite son paid no heed to his admonitions, and persisted in his licentious habits and drinking. He further showed a total disregard of statesmanship in taking to a course of bloodshed. His opponents secretly invited Adham Khan, whom the king refused to pardon on his appearing at the capital. Still, the eldest son was not dismayed; however, he continued his intrigues and his propaganda. The nobles urged the Sultan in his declining health to nominate his successor. Haji Khan being supreme at the capital and still retaining the Sultan's favour was proclaimed successor to the throne. Shortly after this the Sultan passed away in 1474 A.D. after a reign of well-nigh fifty-two years.

Malik Haidar Chadaura, the famous chronicler, has recorded an interesting but incredible incident about Zain-ul-Abidin. The Sultan had gone out for a pleasure trip to the Wulur Island; his elder son who accompanied him on this occasion advised the Sultan to enjoy a trip in a boat calculating the chances of throwing him over-board and thus dispensing with him. The Sultan evinced no suspicion and after covering a mile he asked Adham Khan to fetch his rosary which he had left behind in his prayer-room. On his return to the prayer-room the prince observed with consternation that the Sultan himself sat in the room and was deeply absorbed in meditation. He returned to the Sultan and confessed his guilty intentions, whereupon the former pardoned him, but at the same time recited this couplet[32] :

32 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chadaura, p. 152. Jahangir has also repeated this incident with a slight variation, *vide* Elliot and Dowson, vol. vi, p. 306.

پدرکش بادشاهی رانشاید   وگر شاید بجز شش مه نپاید

(A patricide does not deserve to wear a crown, even if he does, he cannot hold his sceptre for more than six months.)

Adham Khan once again exerted himself to secure the throne, but Haji Khan's resourcefulness and the timely appearance of his son, Hasan Khan, on the scene again shattered his schemes and he was forced to fly to Hindustan.

The Sultan was buried opposite to the tomb of his father, the late Sultan Sikandar. He was deeply mourned by all his subjects. Poets and historians wrote elegies to commemorate his unprecedented reign of peacefulness and glory. The following chronogram,[33] while aptly eulogising the king, also gives the year of his death, 879 A.H. (1474 A.D.)

سلطان زین العابدین زد خیمه در خلد برین   بے نور شد تاج ونگین بے هور شد ارض وسما
ازبهر تاریخش عیان بے سر شده اند در جهان   عدل وکرم علم وحلم جاه وحشم صلح وصفا

Malik Haidar Chadaura has preserved in the pages of his history[34] the following elegies on Zain-ul-Abidin's death :

کوے اے فلک بے هنرکه شاه کجاست   فروغ مهرکجا رفت ونور ماه کجاست
هان وهرچه در وهست همچنان باقیست   بیا بگوے که شاه جهان وشاه کجاستا
سپاه وچتر بجایند وچتر داران هم   نظام چترکجا رونق سپاه کجاست
سواد عرصهٔ میدان وگوے وچوگان هست   کسیکه گوے زند همچو شاه کجاست
سرا وباغ وگلستان وحوض وآب روان   خرشند وخوب ولے جاے بادشاه کجاست
زار خیمه وخرگاه سائبان بپیشند   لواے خیمه وخرگا بارگاه کجاست
کاریان همه مشتاق زخم تیر توند   دوان ولاغر وحیران که تخت شاه کجاست

کجاست شاه سکندر کجاست میدانش
در انتظار هلاکند گوے وچوگانش

33 In the second line of the second couplet, the first letters of all words as well as the four's should not count; the numerical value of the remaining letters should be taken and added to obtain the date of the Sultan's death.

34 *History of Kashmir*, p. 152.

عجب که دیده شود گل شگفته در گلزار   عجب که کبک خرامد دوباره در کهسار
عجب که غنچه بخندد چو مرد غافل   عجب که باغ بگرید بسان ابر بهار
بگیر ای دل حیرت ز فوت شاه جهان   عزیز و صاحب دنیا و دین بی آزار
شهنشهی که نظیرش ندیده و نه شنید   بروزگار در از این سپهر مردم خوار
به آب دیده بشوئید ای مسلمانان   زمین روضه شه را برای استظهار
برش وجبه برو بند و زور بردارند   ز بهر کحل بصر خاک این در و دیوار
وزین مزار بخواهید هرچه می خواهند   باعتقاد درست و درون بی انکار
خدا شناس پیمبر صفت سکندر شاه[3]   که آفرین خدا بر روانش باد هزار

Sultan Haidar Shah

Haji ascended the throne with the title of Haidar Shah. He appointed his younger brother, Beiram (or Behram) Khan, his minister and his son Hasan Khan as his successor, as well as *Amir-ul-Umara* with the District of Gujraj as his personal estate bestowed upon him in perpetuity.[36] From the very outset he abandoned himself to a life of debauchery and licentiousness. In other words, he completely proved himself to be the reserve of his father and entirely left the administration of the country in the hands of Beiram Khan, and tarnished his fame by showing undue favour to a barber, Booby by name, who secured the beheadal of Hasan Kachi, an officer who worked on the Sultan's behalf in securing his accession to the throne. Adham Khan tried to avail himself of this juncture, but was killed by a party of Mughals. His body, however, received a decent internment at the hands of Haidar Shah. The nobles promised to help Beiram Khan if he wished to seize the throne. He had arrived at no decision when Fateh Khan, Adham Khan's son, appeared in the court with the so-called intention of laying at the feet of his uncle the spoils he had collected from the surrounding districts but his real aim was to try his fortune. His sudden appearance filled the minds of the nobles with suspicion and they advised the king not to give audience to him.[37]

35 It is curious that Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin was addressed as Sikandar by poets very probably on account of his greatness.
36 Briggs, vol. iv, p. 475.
37 *Ibid.*, p. 476.

Confusion and turmoil held their sway, intrigues and plots were rampant when the king fell intoxicated from a terrace. This ended his brief reign of fourteen months which marks the beginning of the decay of the rule of the Sultans of Kashmir.

Sultan Hasan Shah

With the active support of Ahmad Aboo, the commander of forces, Hasan Khan ascended the throne with the title of Hasan Shah. In return for his services Ahmad Aboo received the title of Malik Ahmad and the office of prime minister, while his son, Nauroz, was appointed *Amir-i-Dar* (Lord Chamberlain). Beiram (or Behram) consulted his safety in a self-imposed exile to Hindustan. Hasan Shah revived the edicts and practices of his grandfather which had suffered a temporary abeyance during the brief reign of his father.

Evidently some malcontents wanted to turn the new order of things to their own advantage, and did not favour the revival of beneficent old practices. They summoned Beiram Khan to occupy the throne. He accordingly penetrated Kashmir as far as the Province of Gujraj. Malik Taj Butt stemmed the tide of Beiram's advance and inflicted a crushing defeat on him. There is reason to infer the conclusion that Beiram Khan expected active support and co-operation from the nobles of Kashmir who failed him at the last moment.[38] He fled to Zainapor, but he and his son were soon taken prisoners and brought to the capital where Beiram's eyes were put out. He did not survive this violence more than three days, after which the King resolved to treat his body with disrespect. In this he was deterred by an old minister of Zain-ul-Abidin who suffered a similar affliction for his respect of the dead.

Malik Haidar Chadaura tells us that at Hasan Shah's court there were twelve hundred Hindustani musicians, and an equally large number of concubines.[39] The king completely ignored his duty to his subjects. His ideal of kingship solely consisted in a life of voluptuousness. He seldom found time to inspect the

38 Briggs, vol. iv, p. 478.

39 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chadaura, p. 139.

army or to administer justice. On the other hand, he deputed someone from among his nobles to inspect the army. Anarchy consequently prevailed in the country.

The Struggle Between Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah for the Throne of Kashmir

Hasan Shah, on his death bed, instructed Syed Hasan Baihaqi, his father-in-law, whom the dying king had made his minister to set on the throne either Fateh Khan son of Adham Khan or Yusaf Khan son of Beiram (or Behram) Khan. But, spurred by ambition, the minister set up Prince Muhammad Shah the son of Hasan Shah, then a child of seven, on the throne in 892 A.H. Syed Hasan's regency and the king's minority excited considerable jealously and resulted in hostile activity among the malcontents. Encouraged by these factions and with the collusion of Tazi Butt, Fateh Khan collected a force and attacked Kashmir. Jahangir Magre with the strong support of Syeds was able to inflict a defeat on Fateh Khan. A second attempt proved equally futile. After this failure, Fateh Khan occupied Jammu whence he launched a far more fromidable attack. This attempt, too, proved fruitless. Fateh Khan, however, did not despair and again advanced with an army. Jahangir Magre being wounded retired from the field, and Fateh Khan gained a complete victory in 895 A.H. (1489 A.D.) and Muhammad Shah after his nominal sovereignty of two years and seven months vacated the throne.* The fugitive king was handed over by the *zamindars* to Fateh Khan who kept him in close confinement, treating him as mildly as he could. "Just about this time in England," writes Rodgers, (page 110 of his artcle in the *J.A.S.B.* No. 2, 1885 A.D.) "Edward V and his younger brother were murdered in the Tower. Fateh Shah was not so bad as Richard III. He ordered the food and

*Lt. Newall, too, in his article, *A Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmir* has placed Muhammad Shah's first dethronement two years and seven months after his accession—*J. A. S. B.*, No. 5, 1854, p. 417. Firishta, on the other band, assumes it to have taken place in 902 A.H. (1496 A.D.) in the eleventh year after accession. Briggs, vol. iv, p. 486.

drink of the prince to be prepared according to his order and gave him a place in the palace along with his own brothers."

Fateh Khan ascended the throne under the title of Fateh Shah. It could have been expected that with a new king on the throne who possessed grit and strength enough to contest the crown, all dissensions and disintegrating elements in the kingdom would cease. As a matter of fact, Zain-ul-Abidin's successors lacked the necessary qualities of administration and leadership. Fateh Shah was unequal to the task of restoring peace and tranquillity. His reign brought the Chaks to the forefront, and this led to the undoing of his own authority and finally the extinction of his own family as the dominant and ruling factor in Kashmir.

Malik Saifdar was the king's minister who conducted the affairs of the state wisely and in a statesmanlike manner. In his pay was the redoutable Chak, Shams-ud-Din, who at first had entered the service of Syed Muhammad Baihaqi, the son of Syed Hasan Baihaqi and then took Malik Nauroz Aboo for his master and finally joined the service of Saifdar. He also married the daughter of one Husain Chak, gaining considerable importance from the alliance. After this he began to traffic in intrigues; he won over Sarhang Reina and Musa Reina whom he openly set up as rivals of Saifdar. Fateh Shah, too, withdrew his favour. Soon the factious struggle ended in the death of Saifdar and one of his rivals, Sarhang Reina. He succeeded his master, viz., Saifdar to the latter's share in authority and administration. He was not satisfied with the removal of one master, as he dreaded Syed Muhammad Baihaqi whom he brought into a clash with Kaji Chak and others. The Syed soon realised the parvenu's intentions. Consequently he entered into an intrigue with the desposed king and also won over to his side Ibrahim Magre, Haji Padr, and Malik Abdi (or Eidi) Reina. An engagement fought in the vicinity of the tomb of Bulbul Shah resulted in the flight of Kaji Chak and Shams Chak to Kamraj. Syed Muhammad gave them a hot pursuit to some distance, and, on his return, burnt down their homes. Fateh Shah, too, left for the Punjab. Shams Chak returned to avenge himself, but on finding Muhammad Shah with his opponent he abstained from an open fight; on the other hand, he carried out a night attack and, suffering a defeat, rejoined his former master, Fateh Shah, in the Punjab. In fine,

after a temporary sway lasting two years and eleven months, Fateh Shah was again a fugitive.

Muhammad Shah regained his throne through the exertions of Syed Muhammad Baihaqi whose keen eye did not fail to detect the rising power of the Chaks. He discovered further possibility of danger from the same tribe in their Shiite tendencies which had been successfully promulagated among them by Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi who had found for himself an asylum in Kashmir against the punishment of exile inflicted upon him by the governor of Khorasan. So successful was his propaganda that all the big chiefs among the Chaks particularly, and the public in general had willingly embraced his doctrines. Therefore, Syed Muhammad perceived a danger in his preachings which he thought would add religious fervour to the Chak opposition whose embers were still smouldering. He can, therefore, be excused for banishing Mir Shams-ud-Din. But as this step had been taken too late, the Chaks felt the compulsory exodus imposed upon their religious leader, and, in their turn retaliated by starting an intrigue with Fateh Shah and Shams Chak.

Fateh Shah and Muhammad Shah again met on the battlefield of Chandpur, where a severe action took place in which Syed Muhammad Baihaqi's bravery at first seemed to decide victory in Muhammad Shah's favour, but owing to his fall in a well, the tables turned and the disheartened adversaries taking courage in both hands charged and routed the imperial forces. The natural consequence was that Fateh Shah again seized the throne and wreaked his vengeance on the family of Syed Muhammad Baihaqi.

Malik Haidar Chadaura ascribes the Chak defection[10] to Muhammad Shah's parsimony with which he had rewarded Musa Reina's services after Fateh Shah's defeat which was, to some extent, due to Musa Reina's bravery.

On re-ascending the throne Fateh Shah rewarded Shams Chak by appointing him his minister and also invested Musa Reina with considerable authority. Shams Chak could not brook the presence of a rival at court. He, therefore, tried to encompass the downfall of Musa Reina, but only succeeded in finding him-

40 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chadaura, p. 158.

self entangled in the meshes of the net he had spread for his rival. He was disgraced, taken prisoner in the open court and thrown into prison. Musa lost no time in disposing of so formidable and scheming a rival. A number of armed men were sent to the prison to kill Shams Chak who, however, first killed quite a number of them before he fell under the relentless blows. This feat of Shams Chak has been immortalised in the following verse :

بچوب و بسنگ و بخشت و بمشت
ملک شمس چک شصت کس رابکشت

Malik Musa was too astute a person to take the blame of this murder upon himself; he managed to lay the blame at the door of the Magres who were therefore exiled.

Musa Reina filled the position which Shams Chak had occupied. His accession to power was a signal to Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi to return from Iskardu. The latter soon inaugurated a period of religious persecution and oppression characterised by a spread of Islam among the Hindus. In this respect he tried to emulate Sultan Sikandar, the Iconoclast. The religious persecutions of the Sunnis continued unchecked by Musa Reina, and justly aroused Ibrahim Magre who now stood as the leader of the Sunnis. The king himself being unable to do anything, secretly intimated Ibrahim to settle matters with Musa Reina who was forced to flee to the Punjab, and in his flight got so inextricably entangled in a vine-creeper, or perhaps, some thorny bush that he died.

Now it was Ibrahim Magre's turn to enjoy authority. He recalled Malik Usman, Dani Malik and others of his tribe who had been accused of murdering Shams Chak and were banished. But after a space of forty days he vacated his post for Malik Usman to step into it. He, too, was forced to withdraw after three months.

These constant changes of ministers were as baneful as those of kings. The king seemed to be no more than an automaton, and was powerless to keep one minister long enough. He felt so overpowered that accompanied by several councillors he left for Hindustan. Ibrahim Magre taking advantage of this situation

instituted himself as minister and recalled the king, while Kaji Chak, Jahangir Padr, the king's adherents, retired to the Punjab. In the meantime, Muhammad Shah's army came into conflict with that of Fateh Shah at Ghazikote with the result that Fateh Shah's army had to retreat. For a year, the situation remained unchanged and Ibrahim Magre continued to wield authority as minister, when Malik Usman who had been set free by Malik Ibrahim replaced the latter. On relinquishing his post, Ibrahim Magre accompanied by Kaji Chak and Jahangir Padr joined Muhammad Shah, but a *coup* cleverly carried out by Ali Reina decided the day in his favour. Fateh Shah had to flee again after a reign of twelve years and eight months during which period revolutions and constant changes of ministers had sapped away the very foundations of authority and administration.

Although installed by Ibrahim Magre, Muhammad Shah was not able to hold the throne for more than five months. When Fateh Shah made his appearance with a large army, Muhammad Shah retired in safety to Naushehra with Syed Ibrahim Baihaqi son of the late minister, Syed Muhammad Baihaqi.

The third phase of Fateh Shah's sway lasted for a period of three years and four months. Remembering his old trouble, he resolved to divest himself of all regal authority and divided the country into four parts three of which he handed over to Jahangir Padr, Kaji Chak and Sunkur Reina and retained only one portion for himself, hoping thereby to pass his days in peace. His co-partners soon revolted against him and invited Muhammad and Ibrahim Magre. The result of the battle which took place was in no way favourable to Muhammad Shah because Ibrahim Magre who was the mainstay of his power was slain with his sons. However, Muhammad Shah did not lose heart at his discomfiture. Ho sought help from Sikandar Lodhi of Delhi; Jahangir Padr and Sunkur Reina welcomed him enabling him to drive out Fateh Shah who died in exile at Naushehra after a year. Muhammad Shah caused his remains to be interred by the side of his father Adham Khan. The cap which was a gift from Mir Syed Ali Hamadani (Shah Hamadan) was according to Fateh Shah's wishes, also buried with him. Cunningham (*vide* "The Ancient Coinage of Kashmir" in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. vi, p. 37) has related that on the

same night Shah Hamadan appeared to a *faqir* and told him that the cap had been given by him to Sultan Qutb-ud-Din for good luck and that along with it the kingdom had been transmitted from father to son down to the present generation ; but, that, as Fateh Shah had now taken the cap with him to the tomb, so likewise had the kingdom gone to the tomb and departed from his family.

Muhammad Shah gained the throne for the fourth time through the ability and exertions of Kaji Chak who was also his brother. The king adequately rewarded his services by appointing him *Madar-ul-Mahamm*.

Kashmir, it seems, had now become a favourite soil for all unmanly qualities—jealously, dissensions, rivalry and bloodthirstiness. Factions grew and found strength, with the result that there were constant feuds among the nobles. Kaji Chak became the objective of a faction of nobles which included Nusrat Reina, Lohr Magre and Jahangir Padr. Kaji Chak was, however, able to inflict a defeat on his opponents and kill Nusrat Reina. The confederacy being broken, Abdul Magre began to devastate the country, and was put to flight by Masaud Chak, Kaji's son. Soon after this, another body of nobles consisting of Sikandar Shah, Fateh Shah's son, Jahangir Padr, Lohr Magre and Abdi (or Eidi) Reina made its appearance with the avowed object of securing the throne for Sikandar Shah.

Masaud Chak was again despatched to suppress the rising and the insurgents secured no tangible results beyond the death of Masaud Chak, and the king was left again in peace for some time.

It was during Muhammad Shah's reign that Babur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty in India, taking advantage of internal confusion, sent his army to attack Kashmir. Kaji Chak, who had already retired from state affairs, was fired with patriotism and moved to meet Babur who had to retire before the onslaughts of Kaji Chak. This success re-installed Kaji Chak in the king's favour, but this time he deposed him and put Ibrahim Shah, Muhammad Shah's son and his own nephew, on the throne.

During Ibrahim's reign Abdal Magre[41] who, after his flight, was residing at Babur's court appeared with a large army under Sheikh Ali Beg and Muhammad Khan, two Mughal nobles who were charged to use Nazuk, the brother of Sikandar and the son of Sultan Fateh Shah as a decoy so that the Kashmiris might not imagine that a foreigner was being imposed upon them as their king. Ibrahim marched out in person to meet the Mughal army, but suffered heavily at Sullah and fled from the country.

Nazuk, the brother of Sikandar and the son of Sultan Fateh Shah, ascended the throne, and appointed Abdal Magre his chief minister. The officers of the Mughal army were handsomely rewarded and they afterwards returned to Hindustan.[42] The minister, Abdal Magre, pursued Kaji Chak out of Kashmir.

Abdal Magre curiously enough then reinstated Muhammad Shah,[43] having sent for him from Lokhote where he was a prisoner. It appears that Nazuk was set up merely as a stopgap.

This last phase of Muhammad Shah's reign might appropriately be called the Magre domination, inasmuch as Malik Abdal, the Magre chief, after his elevation to the post of prime minister, divided Kashmir among his adherents and influential partisans whereby he reduced Muhammad Shah to the obscure position of a stipendiary.

If one compares the glorious part once enjoyed by Kashmir with the sordid plight to which she had been reduced at the time we are now speaking of, one cannot help being struck with amazement. A succession of incompetent rulers, and ambitious nobles who were constantly engaged in internecine war and all its concomitants so combined themselves as to leave the country an inviting prey to ambition. Babur twice directed his cohorts against her with a fair measure of success. Then with Humayun's consent Kamran led an expedition of thirty thousand horses in in 1531 A.D., which he directed from Naushehra. Mahram Beg

41 Briggs, vol. iv, p. 491.
42 *Ibid.*, p. 492.
43 *Ibid.*

(according to another account Mujrim Beg) and Sheikh Ali Beg, his generals, penetrated within sight of Srinagar whence Mahram sent a congratulatory poem to Kamran of which the following line have been quoted by Malik Haidar Chadaura :[44]

چو کردم فتح نیم او بتاریخ   خرد گفتا که سنخ نیم فردوس
به حکم بادشاه کز حریمش   بفهم آسان شود تفهیم فردوس
سفر کردم بسوے شهر کشمیر   که از خولی دهد تعلیم فردوس

It is strange to note that, while Kashmir nobles at this time displayed a tendency to cut each other's throat, they did not exhibit any want of patriotism, and in spite of personal feuds and grievances they were able to rally round an outcast leader to defend their country. Kaji Chak came to the rescue on this occasion and rallying all the disaffected or hostile nobles he so capably and gallantly opposed Mahram Beg that he had to retreat after concluding an honourable peace. Soon after this, disintegration began again with the result that Abu Said Mirza, King of Kashgar, sent his son Sikandar accompanied by Mirza Haidar Doghlat from Tibet with a cavalry eight thousand strong to conquer Kashmir, in which project the prince was fortunate to win his spurs by effecting a triumphant entry into the capital. The victorious army satiated their lust of rapine and plunder to their hearts' content, and remained in occupation all through the next winter. The following spring infused some spirit into the benumbed Kashmir nobles who united themselves to beat the foreigners out of their land, but sustained a signal defeat involving considerable loss of life. They were not, however, disheartened by this defeat, and again combined themselves under the leadership of Kaji Chak and Abdal Magre and pressed the invaders so hard that they were compelled to sue for terms of peace, one of which laid down that Muhammad Shah should give his daughter in marriage to Prince Sikandar. This matrimonial alliance was sought to strengthen friendly relations between the two monarchs.

44 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 175. Malik Haidar Chadaura quotes only two while Hasan (in his *History*, folio 134) has quoted the third line which is not without interest.

After concluding a peace so honourable to themselves, the invaders departed from Kashmir but left behind them such traces of desolation, rapine and plunder, famine and hunger as revived the memories of Zulju's sojourn in that fair land.

Thousands perished of hunger and hundreds of thousands were rendered homeless. The next crop, however, provided some sustenance and saved the remainder of population from the clutches of starvation. Sultan Muhammad Shah also befriended his perishing subjects in their death. He suffered from an attack of typhoid and could not survive it. Thus passed a monarch who in his reign of twenty-nine years and two months faced so many changes of fortune as have rarely been the lot of any other king.

Sultan Shams-ud-Din II

Shams-ud-Din was Muhammad Shah's son[45] and like his father retained the character of a stipendiary king guided by his all-too powerful minister, Kaji Chak. His reign was marked by the usual strife between the Chaks and the Magres which was speedily put an end to by Kaji Chak.

It was to the astuteness of Kaji Chak that he established matrimonial relations with the ruling family which ultimately ended in accession of power to his own family.

Ismail Shah I

Shams-ud-Din was succeeded by his brother Ismail who was Kaji Chak's son-in-law. The veteran Chak continued to retain his position and influence as the leading noble and the prime minis-

45 Mirza Haidar Doghlat sent his congratulations to Sultan Abu Said, of Kashmir, and a Court-poet of Kashghar rendered them into verse:

الحمد لله کان شاه عادل ، سلطان سکندر خاقان دوران
برکسر اعدا در او روز هیجا قادر شد آن دم از لطف یزدان
تاریخ فتحش الحق مبین است روز چهارم از ماه شعبان

Tarikh-i-Kashmir, by Malik Haidar Chadaura, p. 179.

ter. But his overbearing attitude towards the other nobles resulted in his flight towards Gakhar hills whence aided by Syed Ibrahim he returned and regained his power. On his return, he divided Kashmir into three equal parts two of which he assigned to the Sultan, Syed Ibrahim retaining the third for himself. The Sultan's position, therefore, remained entirely unchanged and he was no more than a stipendiary like his immediate predecessors.

When Kaji Chak considered himself to be free enough, he imposed on the whole of Kashmir Shiite doctrines once promulgated by Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi. In this respect, he took upon himself the role of Musa Reina, and offered a treatise of Mir Shams-ud-Din as a code of law for all the subjects. Ismail Shah passed away after a brief reign of eighteen months.

Ibrahim II

Ismail was succeeded by his son, Ibrahim II, whose brief reign of four months was characterised by two important events. The first of these was Kaji Chak's flight due to his high-handedness. The second event was of far greater importance being the third attempt in succession on the part of Babur's descendants to conquer Kashmir. The Magres sought help from Humayun to get rid of Kaji Chak. Although that monarch was himself sorely harassed by Sher Shah, nevertheless he allowed Mirza Haidar Doghlat, a cousin of both Babur and Sultan Abu Said of Kashghar who, besides being a soldier was also a scholar and the author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, to lead an expedition to Kashmir on behalf of the Magres. It is not difficult to forecast the result of Mirza Haidar's expedition as the Kashmiris were again at this time engaged in fighting against each other. Therefore, this noble from Humayun's court had what might be called an easy victory against all the desperate resistance offered by Kaji Chak who after his defeat was astute enough to appear at Sher Shah's court for help against his adversaries. Meanwhile, Ibrahim's brief sway was terminated by his untimely death.

Mirza Haidar effected no change in the division of the country already brought into force by Kaji Chak; the only change he introduced was that he retained one-third to himself while the

remaining two-thirds were shared by Abdal Magre and Malak Reina probably as a reward for their services.

As several reference have been made to Mirza Haidar Doghlat in the course of this book a brief notice of his life would not perhaps be inappropriate here when we are discussing the period during which he played an important role in the history of Kashmir.

Mirza Muhammad Haidar Doghlat Gurgan, to give him his full name, was born in the year 905 A.H. (1499-1500 A.D. as the year 905 began on 8th August, 1499 A.D.) at Tashqand, the capital of the province then known as Shash where his father Muhammad Husain Gurgan had been made a governor some six years before by Mahmud, the titular Khan of Mughilstan and Kashghar. On the side of his mother, Khub Nigar Khanam Mirza Haidar was related to Emperor Babur. Khub Nigar was a daughter of Yunus Khan of the Mughals, and a younger sister of Qutlugh Nigar Khanam, the mother of Babur.

Mirza Haidar began his life "in the midst of strife and adventure". His father a treacherous and intriguing man—had been convicted of a mischievous plot against Babur at Kabul but had been pardoned on account of his blood relationship. After some time Muhammad Husain Gurgan was murdered at the instigation of Shahi Beg Khan, (otherwise known as Shaibani Khan, the Uzbegh leader). In 1508 A.D. when about nine years of age, Mirza Haidar was taken in charge by one of his father's faithful friends, who took him to Khan Mirza, a cousin and dependant of Babur where he remained for a year, when Babur summoned him to Kabul. On his arrival at Kabul Mirza Haidar was made a member of the Emperor's household and seems to have been treated with much consideration.

Let away by youthful impatience, it was about the beginning of 1514 A.D. that Mirza Haidar left Babur and arrived at Andijan, then the capital of Farghana, and entered the service of his kinsman Sultan Said Khan. Though now only 15 years of age Mirza Haidar was raised by his kinsman the Khan of Farghana to a high position and his life of activity may be said to have begun about this time. For the ensuing 19 years, during which Sultan Said's reign lasted, the Mirza served him in various capacities but chiefly as a soldier and it was only after the

Khan's death which occurred in 1533 A.D., that Mirza Haidar left Kashghar and transferred his services to the Mughals in India. While in the service of Sultan Said, Mirza Haidar undertook an invasion first of Ladakh, then of Kashmir and then of Baltistan and afterwards of Tibet proper. After subduing Ladakh a rapid march was made into Kashmir in about 1531 A.D., but the Mirza was obliged to leave Kashmir. Later, Mirza Haidar marched towards Lhasa and fought with the Nepalese. He had to retract his steps because of mortality among his horses, want of supplies, and of the general distress caused by cold and high elavation. It was in the early months of 1534 A.D. that Mirza Haidar reached a position of safety in Ladakh. From Ladakh, it appears, Mirza Haidar repaired to Kabul *via* Badakhshan and shortly after proceeded to Lahore, where he was received by Babur's son, Mirza Kamran, and was raised to a position of honour and dignity, namely, the governorship of the Punjab. Mirza Haidar resided at Lahore however for a year when differences arose between Mirza Kamran and Humayun. Mirza Haidar became an adherent of the latter. While acting as governor at Lahore, Mirza Haidar was approached by certain chief of Kashmir who were at variance with the reigning Sultan and who had found a refuge in the Punjab. They endeavoured to procure, through Mirza Haidar's influence the assistance of a body of Mughal troops to invade their own country and expel the obnoxious ruler. The scheme seems to have commended itself to the Mirza's judgment and after some delay he was able to cross the Poonch Pass and descended into the valley in (about November) 1540 A.D. and obtained possession of Kashmir without striking a blow and thus at once became, to all intents and purposes, king of the state, but as the fate of Humayun was uncertain, Mirza Haidar, on account of his faithfulness to Humayun, did not declare himself king of Kashmir nor did he think it discreet to declare Humayun as the overlord of Kashmir.

During the 10 years (counting from the battle of 2nd August 1541 A.D.) over Mirza Haidar's regency extended, he is stated, in the *Akbar Nama*, to have devoted himself, when not actively engaged with his enemies, to the restoration of the province and the improvement of its resources. He is said to have founded it in a state of ruin and desolation and is said to have raised it

into a land abounding in cultivation and flourishing towns ; he extended the frontiers also, and ruled with moderation and justice. The Government of Kashmir was, however, carried on in the name of Sultan Nazuk Shah. This was the time when Humayun was a refugee in Persia. Mirza Haidar died at the end of his 10 years of regency in 1551 A.D. by an arrow at the siege of a fort when the Chaks seized the throne of Kashmir.

It was during these years of his stay in Kashmir that Mirza Haidar wrote his *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. The first part of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* is called by its accomplished author *Tarikh-i-Asl*, or Real History. The second part he styles *Mukhtasar* or 'Epitome'. The first part was written after the second part had been completed and the history was named after Rashid Khan, the ruler of Kashghar.

The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* was not written "for effect or for the indulgence of a taste for literature," but the work is an earnest one and author, no doubt, intended that it should be before everything else, a clear and complete exposition of the times he had set himself to chronicle.

Babur has been represented as at once a soldier, a historian and an autobiographer; and his kinsman Mirza Haidar may justly be described in the same way. Babur, however, was a better autobiographer than Mirza and was incomparably a greater soldier but, on the other hand, Mirza Haidar may clearly be acknowledged a better historian. While Babur made history incidental to his memoirs, says Mr. N. Elias, in his introduction to Dr. (now Sir) Denison Ross' translation of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, the reverse was the case with Mirza Haidar. The Mirza, continues Mr. Elias, wrote the history of his race and family with a definite purpose ; and when he came to his own days, he wove in his personal adventures as those of an actor and participator in the events he was recording—making the one illustrate the other; so that it may, with truth, be said that his life belongs to history. Mirza wrote in Persian while Babur wrote in the Chagtai Turki. Mirza Haidar's history is a history of the Mughals of Central Asia.

Sultan Nazuk Shah

Mirza Haidar did not feel himself secure enough to assume royal power. He thought it safer to have a titular king on the throne and himself to enjoy all real power. He, therefore, elevated Nazuk, the son of Fateh Shah, to the throne, and ruled the country to the entire satisfaction of all sections of the people.

Barely a year had passed when Kaji Chak obtained help from Sher Shah by giving his niece in marrriage to him, and attacked Kashmir which he now found stronger and better able to defend herself against a foreign invasion. Kaji Chak, therefore, lost the day, and *Fath-i-Mukarram* 948 A.H. (1541 A.D.) yields the date of Mirza Haidar's victory. Two years later, Reigi Chak rebelled and sustaining a defeat fled the country and joined Kaji Chak. The two united their force and marched upon Kashmir. Mirza Haidar was again able to inflict such a crushing defeat upon them as hastened the death of Kaji Chak, whose date is embodied in the expression *Faut-i-Sardar* (950 A.H. or 1543 A.D.).

Free from all anxiety of rivals, Mirza Haidar tried to revive the industrial glories of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's reign. By his territorial conquests he again added Little Tibet, Pakhli, Rajauri and Kashtwar to the kingdom of Kashmir. He further resorted to various measures to revive and re-stabilise the industries for which Kashmir had created a name for herself. In statesmanship, too, he tried to follow in the footprints of the same illustrious monarch, and had very largely succeeded in his object by meting out equal treatment to all sections of his subjects. He had successfully reconciled public opinion and pacified the qualms of those who regarded him as a foreigner.

To err is human, and it is also equally true that the errors of great men alone become prominent while those of ordinary persons are hardly taken notice of. With some degree of truth it might also be asserted that an error of a great personage is in most cases a life-blunder, and generally tends to spoil the career of its perpetrator. So was the case with Mirza Haidar. Rightly or wrongly he conceived the idea that the prevailing religious schism was solely responsible for all intri-

gues and dissensions which marred the progress of the country. He also observed that the adherents of the new Shiite faith had made themselves conspicuous in all reactionary measures. He, therefore, resolved to crush out of existence this new faith, hence his changed attitude and changed line of action. He quarrelled with Malik Reigi Chak whose fall was precipitated by the faction of Malik Abdi Reina and Husain Magre who at first abetted the king, but, later on, filled the whole of Kashmir with stories of Mirza Haidar's oppression and high-handedness. No wonder if this incident chafed the Mirza and further strengthened him in his attitude of hostility towards all adherents of the Shia faith. Malik Abdi, Husain Magre and Haji Khwaja formed a faction which the Mirza thought it was his duty to crush. Qara Bahadur, the Mirza's brother,[46] accompanied by a combined army of the Mughals and Kashmiris was despatched to reduce Muhammadkote, their stronghold, to subjection. On his arrival there, Qara Bahadur found the Kashmiris wavering and the nobles disaffected; he warned his brother against the folly of the measures he had embarked upon. Mirza Haidar felt that he could not retract the step he had already taken, and therefore ordered an assault which ended disastrously. Qara Bahadur and his followers fell captives in the hands of the Kashmiris. Chafed to the quick by this failure, the Mirza resolved upon a night attack in which an arrow from his own armour *Shah Nazir*, struck him fatally.[47] Malik Haidar Chadaura[48] asserts that while he was in the act of entering the gate of Inderkote, a butcher who happened to be at the gate challenged him, and the Mirza's ignorance of the Kashmiri language proved fatal for him; the butcher discovered that he was a Mughal and brought down his heavy axe upon him.

The fire of rebellion thus ignited could not be quelled without claiming its due. Mulla Qasim, Mulla Baqi and Mulla Abdullah and Mirak, the foster-brothers, who were among the

46 Some call Qara Bahadur as the Mirza brother, others not.

47 *Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Fauq, p. 104; see also Briggs, vol. iv, p. 503.

48 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chadaura, p. 188. See also Lieut. Newall's article entitled *A Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmir* in the *J. A. S. B.*, No. 5, 1854, p. 424.

foremost and most gallant of the Mirza's nobles and had respectively recovered Little Tibet, Pakhli, Wangli, and Kashtwar were sacrificed at the altar of a policy which aimed at the total extirpation of the Shiites in Kashmir. The conceiver himself also fell, the date of whose death is expressed in the following chronogram (958 A.H. or 1551 A.D.) :

شه گورگان میرزا حیدر آخر — بملک شهادت زده کوس شاهی
قضاے الٰهی چنین بود و تاریخ — شده بهر وصلش قضاے الٰهی

Fauq is responsible for the statement[49] that the rebels had decided to treat Mirza Haidar's remains with disrespect, and that when they found their other *confreres*—of the Sunni faith, of course—resolved to resist them, they had to give way, but they wreaked their vengeance on his descendants. Firishta and Lieutenant Newall[50] are, however, silent on this point. But Malik Haidar Chadaura (p. 188) asserts that, accompanied by Mirza Qara Bahadur, Mirza Haidar's family, his sons and others were allowed to repair with honour to their home, Kashghar, with all their property untouched. His views cannot be accepted *in toto* for the reason that he also espoused the Shiite faith, and that it is not improbable that in the flush of victory goaded by bigotry, the Chaks did not act as chivalrously as could be desired. The remains of Mirza Haidar are buried near the tomb of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in Srinagar. The grave was repaired at the instance of Moorcroft in A.D. 1823 and a stone slab with an inscription set up near it.

The office of *Wazir* now fell on to the shoulders of Abdi Reina who had long been desirous of it, and under him Kashmir was attacked by Haibat Khan[51] whom Daulat Chak beat back winning distinction for his exploits. Then followed a hard tussel for power between Abdi Reina, and the Chaks led by

49 Fauq's *Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 104.
50 See Briggs, vol. iv, p. 503 & *J. A. S. B.*, No. 5, 1854, p. 423.
51 Haibat Khan Niazi was deputed by Salim Shah Suri the son and successor of Sher Shah Suri.

Daulat Chak.[52] Most of Abdi Reina's partisans deserted him, while Syed Muhammad Ibrahim and Husain Magre fell captives in the hands of Daulat Chak. The inevitable consequence of this disintegration of Abdi Reina's party was a defeat followed by exile which ultimately ended in Abdi Reina's death at Srinagar in 1551 A.D.

This ascendancy of the Chaks definitely marks the beginning of their accession to power. Daulat Chak having taken all authority in his own hands thought it fit to release Syed Muhammad Ibrahim and Husain Magre and make them his councillors. On the other hand, he also felt himself strong enough to dethrone Sultan Nazuk Shah in 1551 A.D.

Sultan Ismail II

Firishta[53] differs from Malik Haidar Chadaura and Lt. Newall when he asserts that after Nazuk Shah, Ibrahim II was placed on the throne but deposed after a reign of only five months, and Ismail Shah II, son of Ibrahim Shah I who was the son of Sultan Muhammad Shah was raised to kingship.

Daulat Chak imposed his will and Shiite tenets on the country in a high-handed manner, compelling the *Imams* of mosques, on pain of death, to recite the names of twelve *Imams* in Friday sermons. However, his ascendancy did not last long. The truth is that in those days of decentralised kingship, intrigue had become an indispensable part of the temperament of the Kashmiri nobility and it was carried on irrespective of considerations of caste and creed. Ghazi Chak and Daulat Chak, although both were Shiahs, found themselves at great variance with each other, because the latter had the hardihood to marry[54] Kaji Chak's widow, *i.e.*, Ghazi Chak's mother. Daulat Chak had to flee, and was caught and handed over by a shepherd to Ghazi Chak and put to death.

52 Lieut. Newall asserts that the party had Ghazi Khan, Husain Khan and Ali Khan, Kaji Chak's sons, as their leaders, *J. A. S. B.*, No. 5, 1854, p. 424.

53 Briggs, vol. iv, pp. 505-06.

54 Lieut. Newall, *J. A. S. B.*, No. 5, 1854, p. 424.

Many stories of Daulat's deeds of prowess are related. It is said that once he caught with one hand a falling beam twenty-four yards long and two yards thick. At another, when at Delhi he caught an elephant by the tail in the presence of Sher Shah Suri and the animal could not move at all.

As soon as Daulat Chak's star waned, Ismail's reign also came to a close.

Sultan Habib Shah

Ghazi Chak having deposed Ismail Shah placed on the throne his nephew, Habib Shah, who in 945 A.H. owed his accession to Kaji Chak through selfish designs. This king happened to be the last of his line Ever since the days of Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah the kings had been reduced to the position of automatons or were figure-heads who were enthroned or deposed as suited the purpose of a strong noble in power. Till the accession of Habib Shah, the Chaks entertained no ambitious designs to usurp kingship which, it seems, was their objective for a long time past and for which they had been constantly staking their lives and money.

Ghazi Chak now began to work for his end. He started by accusing the Sultan of various misdemeanours and possibly of acts of faithlessness, too ; the Sultan was powerless to say or do anything. At last one day in open court Ghazi Chak's brother, Ali Chak, took off the crown from the king's head and placed it on his brother's. The courtiers hailed Ghazi Chak as their monarch ; Habib Shah was removed from the throne and kept as a prisoner. All this happened in 961 A.H. (1553 A.D.).

There appears to be no cause of lamentation over the displacement of the old dynasty in Kashmir. Its rulers had become quite effete and sadly lacked those essential qualities of initiation and capacity to command which are, and should always be, possessed by a king. Moreover, they had been displaying their weakness of character, and could not, therefore, hold their place any longer. It was only a divine mercy or it might be said with equal justification, diffidence of the Chaks that they were allowed to play the role of supernumerary kings under the Chak

domination. As a matter of fact, they should have long been displaced to make room for stronger kings of fresh blood and virility.

THE CHAKS

From a perusal of its history Kashmir appears to be a land of hospitality. Ratanju fleeing from the assassins of his father is well received by Raja Simha Deva and his commander-in-chief Ram Chandar, and soon after assumes sovereignty over the land which at first afforded him asylum. Later on, Shah Mir also rises to the same position. Sunkar Chak, the progenitor of the Chak dynasty, was likewise a wanderer; and, though, he himself had not the distinction of wearing a regal crown, his descendants nevertheless gradually so strengthened themselves as, at first, to be able to exert a prominent influence on the politics of Kashmir, to enthrone and dethrone kings and finally to wield the sceptre in their own hands.

The history of the Chaks bears a strange resemblance to that of the Marattas. They gradually rose from obscurity and forced existence even upon the attention of a wise rule like Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin* whose penetrating eye enabled him to predict sovereinty for them, "a prediction which eventually proved correct". They sought, and entered service, with the nobles, thereby strenghening and consolidating themselves, till at last they were able to assert themselves under a redoubtable leader, namely, Shams Chak. Since then they proved to be an important entity in the politics of Kashmir. It is strange that their rise synchronises with their conversion to Shiite doctrine promulgated by Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi in the reign of Fateh Shah. It will be both idle and incorrect to say that this change in their religious beliefs had fired them with an ambition for the throne. History has not yet proved it. The fact must not, however, be omitted that they were strong enough to interfere in the trend of events and exert their influence when internecine wars between Muhammad Shah and Fateh Shah began.

*Lt. Newall's *A Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmir*, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, p. 416.

All through their career either as patrons of a particular king or wielders of regal authority they did not give much promise of their statesmanship. They were, nevertheless, clever at intrigue. They owe this to their credit that they were good soldiers on the battle-field, and their exploits thereon cannot be easily forgotten. Their patriotism and martial spirit stood Kashmir in good stead, and one can therefore, conveniently hazard the statement that but for them Kashmir would have unmistakably fallen an easy prey to the ambition of Babur and his immediate successor.

Ghazi Chak

It is not necessary to recapitulate the circumstances which installed Ghazi Chak as the first ruler of his line. He started his regal career with justice and discretion, and first devoted his attention to the removal of evils which had for long paralysed the administration of the country.

Next he re-conquered and annexed such territories as had fallen off from the kingdom. In this attempt he attained marked success in that he recovered Tibet, Askardu, Gilgit, Kashtwar, Pakhli and Wangli, besides bringing into subjection the Chief of Gakkhar. In order to ensure efficient administration of these territories he appointed experienced and intelligent governors to control them.

He was a just but somewhat stern ruler. In meting out justice he showed no compassion even to his kith and kin. Once a servant belonging to his son Haidar Khan plucked *unnabs* from a tree while accompanying the Sultan. The Sultan observed this act of pilfering, and had the delinquent's hands cut off which both grieved and incensed Haidar Khan. Later on, when Ghazi Chak sent Muhammad Maalk, the youth's uncle, to admonish him for the sullenness he had displayed, the youth in a fit of rage stabbed his uncle. On this Ghazi Chak caused him to be hanged and his remains were exhibited on the gibbet for eight days.

His sternness aroused his own tribesmen against him. Nusrat Chak and Yusuf Chak, sons of Reigi Chak, rose in rebellion against him but were successfully repressed. Later on Sunkar

Chak, Behram Chak and Fateh Chak raised the standard of revolt at Sopur, but were defeated and dispersed. Shams Reina, son of Abdi Reina, proceeded to Delhi to seek help from Humayun, but unfortunately for him Humayun died as the result of a fall on the day of his arrival. On his return, he met Abul Muali, Humayun's favourite, in the mountains of Gakkhar who was driven out by Bairam Khan and induced him to invade Kashmir. Encouraged by the previous success of Mirza Haidar Doghlat, Abul Muali proceeded without hesitation to invade. Ghazi Chak won over Syed Ibrahim and his followers to his side and successfully defeated the invaders. Shams Reina's brother Muhammad Reina next year led a joint insurrection of the Reinas and some disaffected Chaks but sustained a defeat.

In 1559 A.D., his possession of the throne was again disturbed by Qara Bahadur, brother[55] of Mirza Haidar Doghlat whom Yusuf Chak and others had induced to this measure. The battle took place in the Rajauri mountains. Ghazi Chak advanced in person to meet the enemy and promised his men a gold coin for each head of the enemy who was stated to have 10,000[56] horse with him. The king was completely victorious, and 7,000 heads were presented to him after the engagement; he is said to have exceeded the promise and to have disbursed two gold coins per head.

He was an able and energetic ruler and was also a poet.[57] After reigning for nine years and nine months he abdicated the throne in favour of his brother Husain Chak. His pride in his Shiite doctrine is expressed by *Mulla* Mir Ali Sarfi in the following quatrain :

گه دشمنان به رافضیم مرا نام برده اند — گه دوستان موالیٔ حیدر نوشته اند
شکر خدا که دوست و دشمن باتفاق — نامم مرا به نامه او در نوشته اند

Some time after his abdication he divided his effects into two equal parts. He gave half to his son and other descendants

55 Lt. Newall states that it was a nephew of Mirza Haidar Doghlat who attacked. See *J. A. S. B.*, No. 5, 1854, p. 426.

56 *Ibid.*

57 Malik Haidar Chadaura's *History of Kashmir*, p. 201

while he sent the other half to shopkeepers. The price he demanded was so exhorbitant that they complained to Husain Shah. A difference arising between the two, Ghazi Chak sought to re-establish himself but was cleverly checkmated by his brother. When Husain Shah for reasons of personal safety thought of putting out the eyes of Ahmad Khan, Ghazi Chak's son Ghazi interceded for his son but, failing, died of a broken heart.

Husain Shah Chak

Husain Shah ascended the throne in 971 A.H. (1563 A.D.) He was comparatively speaking a mild ruler, less bigotted than his brother and solicitous about the well-being of his subjects. He made new rules for the financial department of the state. In the year 972 A.H. (1564 A.D.), he sent his brother Shunkar Chak as governor of Rajauri where the latter having gathered an army around rebelled to seize the throne, but was defeated by Malak Muhammad Naji and the king's elder brother Ali Khan Chak. This victory secured considerable favours for Malak Muhammad from the king.

Next year in 973 A.H. (1565 A.D.), in the absence of the Sultan who happened to be hunting at Vethnar, Khwaja Fateh Baqqal surnamed Khan-uz-Zaman and his son Bahadur Khan attacked the king's palace, left in charge of Malak Muhammad to seize the treasure and proclaim himself king.

Malak Muhammad was. however, able by having recourse to a clever stratagem to beat back Khan-uz-Zaman and kill his son. The Sultan also returned from his hunt, and Khan-uz-Zaman was led in chains to his presence. In his contest, one Masaud Paik, an officer of the king's bodyguard, made himself conspicuous by his gallant and fearless behaviour for which the Sultan rewarded him with the title of *Mubariz Khan* and the district of Fakul as his *jagir*. Khan-uz-Zaman was justly executed for his treachery.

In the following year he caused his nephew Ghazi Chak's son, Ahmad Khan, to be blinded so as to remove a rival from his path. This so grieved the ex-king who was already ailing that he soon pined away to his grave.

Mubariz Khan, the minister, had become so proud of his power that the king had real cause not only to be jealous but also afraid of him. The minister was thrown into prison, and one Booli Chand appointed in his place. He, too, did not enjoy his new office for long. His embezzlement of forty thousand bales of shawls was detected, and resulted in his removal, and the appointment of Ali Koka as prime minister.

In 976 A.H. (1568 A.D.) Yusuf, a Shia fanatic, attacked and somewhat seriously wounded Qazi Habib, a Sunni, who was saved from being killed by *Maulana* Kamal, his son-in-law. The king issued orders for Yusuf's arrest. Although the *Qazi* himself averred that he had only been wounded, a jury of divines consisting of *Mulla* Yusuf, *Mulla* Firoz and others appointed by the king, had Yusuf stoned to death.

Soon after this there arrived in Kashmir an embassy from Akbar's court by Mirza Muqim and Mir Yaqub, both of Shia persuasion. The Sultan welcomed them in person, and had his own tent pitched up for their reception at Hirapur whence they proceeded in a boat to Srinagar, and were lodged in the house of Husain Magre. Mirza Muqim committed an act of great indiscretion by interfering in this matter which was purely an internal affair and should have been settled by Husain Shah himself who had the temerity to leave the city on this occasion. The Mirza made over the divines who had acted as judges in Yusuf's case to Fateh Khan who had them executed and further treated, their bodies in a manner not worthy of a Muslim. After his return, Husain Shah gave suitable presents and also his daughter for the Emperor Akbar to wed. A deputation of Kashmiris waited upon Akbar to report this matter and seek redress at his hands. On Muqim's return, Akbar had him executed, and sent back Husain Shah's presents and daughter. Husain Shah received such a shock at Akbar's indignation that as a result of it and also as that of his son's death he did not survive more than a few months.

Husain Shah seems to have cherished cosmopolitan views like Akbar and had set aside three days in the week to listen to the discourses of the Muhammadan and Hindu religious scholars and the *darvaishes* respectively. The remaining three days he devoted to the inspection of the army, hunting and dealing out

justice, respectively. He also possessed a taste for versification. It is related that his teacher who usually received gifts and a robe of honour every *Id* sent him this line[58] before the *Id* :

خلعت شاهی مرا اسپے رسد یا زیں رسد

The Sultan wrote back the following line :

این چنیں کم فهم را نے آن رسد نے این رسد

He was a fine poet and Malik Haidar Chadaura quotes the following verse[59] as his[60] :

حمائل کرده تیغ و بسته خنجر یار می آید
دلا برخیز و کارے کن که جان در کار می آید

It was his constant practice after morning prayers to order his treasurer to set aside a particular sum which he gave away in charity to the poor and the indigent.

Before he actually abdicated the throne, his brother Ali Khan collected a large army while the nobles at the court began to intrigue about the next successor. Some favoured a choice between Ali Khan and Syed Muhammad Mubarak Baihaqi while others preferred to have the youthful prince as their next king. Ali Khan retired to Sopur whence he returned with an army.[61] Daulat Chak advised the king to send the royal insignia to Ali Khan to avoid bloodshed. The king followed his advice and thenceforward remained at Zainapur where he passed away in 1572 A.D.

Ali Shah Chak

Like his brother Husain Shah, Ali Shah too was a just and wise ruler. He showed a great respect towards saints and *darvaishes*. Soon after his accession he put an end to all feuds among his nobles and appointed Syed Muhammad Mubarak Baihaqi his minister.

58 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chadaura, p. 203.
59 *Ibid*., p. 202.
60 Khwaja Azam and Hasan quote another couplet of Husain Shah :

آن ترک آل پوش سوار سمند شد　　یاران حذر کنید که آتش بلند شد

61 Fauq's *Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, p. 129.

Haji Haidar Khan and Salim Khan, descendants of Sultan Zain ul-Abidin, who were sons of Nazuk Shah, allied themselves with certain Hindustan nobles and proceeded to attack Kashmir. Ali Shah sent his nephew Lohar Chak and Muhammad Chak against the enemy. Muhammad Chak took Lohar Chak prisoner, and joined the enemy, but finding an opportunity put Salim Khan to the sword at which Haidar Khan fled. Thus ended this attempt of Zain-ul-Abidin's descendants to regain the throne.

Bahadur Singh, the Raja of Kashtwar, was next defeated twice in succession, and first offered his daughter who later on gained the sobriquet of Fateh Khatoon, promising to pay the tribute annually; when he was chastised for the second time, he married his niece Shunkar Devi to Ali Shah's grandson Yaqub Khan and renewed his pledge for payment of tribute. The same year Ali Shah received *Qazi* Sadr-ud-Din and *Maulana* Ishqi, Akbar's ambassadors, with a message of matrimonial alliance and sent his niece[62] with presents. He also included Akbar's name in Friday sermons and struck coins in his (Akbar's) name, which definitely meant that he owned Akbar as his suzerain.

Syed Muhammad Mubarak Baihaqi, his minister, seems to have been a person singularly disposed towards peace, as he evinced it on several occasions notably in securing the king's pardon for Ali Chak, son of Nauroz Chak, who had rebelled and was taken prisoner, and also in restoring peace and amity between his monarch and his son Yusuf Shah who had killed Reina Khan, the son of Ghazi Chak, in an altercation.

In 984 A.H. (1576 A.D.) Kashmir suffered from a famine of unprecedented severity which lasted for three years. Food had become so scarce that at times men did not forbear eating their own fellow-beings. Retu Chak, a mad *darvaish*, told him that the cessation of famine would synchronize with his death. The king met his death while playing polo in the plain of the *Idgah*, the pomel of his saddle having entered his stomach.[63] But before his death he saw his son, Yusuf, crowned king to prevent Abdal Khan, a noble of his court, from creating any mischief.

62 Husain Shah's daughter who had previously been rejected by Akbar.
63 C. J. Rodgers, *J. A. S. B.*, 1885, p. 135.

Abdal was eventually defeated and killed by Syed Muhammad Mubarak Baihaqi, the *Wazir*.

In the beginning an impostor from Persia, Shah Arif by name came to Kashmir and claimed relationship with the reigning Safavi king, and lived in the garb of a *darvaish*, but was soon found out.

Yusuf Shah Chak

Yusuf Shah appointed Syed Mubarak Baihaqi his minister and soon abandoned himself to a career of voluptuous life which estranged his minister who resigned his post. Muhammad Butt was appointed in his place, and the king continued his voluptuous life in the company of a singing woman of ill-repute.

The nobles banded themselves together seeking help from Syed Mubarak who advised them to avoid rebellion, but at the same time sent word to the king through Baba Khalil requesting him to treat the insurgents mildly in order to quell down the fire of rebellion. The king asked Syed Mubarak on pain of death to hand over the insurgents in chains to him. It was both a direct affront and challenge which the Syed accepted readily.

Malak Muhammad Naji[64] advised the king to be generous so that he might win even his opponents. He did not pay any heed to his words and despatched an army under Muhammad Khan to fight Syed Muhammad Mubarak. Muhammad Naji lost his son in this contest and the king his throne. The former pined to his grave within a few weeks while the latter relinquishing the insignia of royalty betook himself to the mountains of Hindustan.

Syed Muhammad Mubarak Baihaqi

Syed Mubarak started his reign in a somewhat unceremonious way, having broken the crown and divided its gems among the poor. He did not appeal to his nobles; neither did they appeal to him. Therefore, they soon thought of inviting Yusuf Shah. Syed Mubarak sent Daud Mir with an invitation to the exiled

64 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir* by Malik Haidar Chadaura, p. 217.

king who sent his sons Yaqub Khan and Ibrahim Khan, himself intending to follow them. But Abdal warned him and explained the invitation to be a ruse employed by Syed Mubarak. Thereupon, Yusuf Shah declined to go, and was severely defeated in a subsequent engagement whereupon he disappeared behind the Hartal hill.

Abdal Butt, a strong noble at that time, manoeuvred so successfully as to throw both Yusuf Shah and Syed Mubarak into utter confusion, and also caused them to face each other on the battle-field while his clever machinations secured the throne to Lohur Chak, since Syed Mubarak willingly offered to abdicate after a sway of six months and Yusuf was balked of the prize of kingship for which he had been invited.

Lohur Shah Chak

Lohur Chak was Yusuf Shah's cousin, being the son of Shunkar Chak. Abdal Butt received the coveted office of minister which was really his objective.

Yusuf after losing the crown while it seemed to be within reach, repaired to Akbar's court at Agra for necessary help to regain his kingdom. That emperor, it is needless to say, was only awaiting an opportunity like this to turn it to his own advantage and willingly sent Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf with an army with the exiled king who was joined by Muhammad Butt at Lahore with an army one thousand strong. Yusuf Shah, on suspecting that Akbar would usurp the kingdom himself, was now smitten with remorse for unnecessarily seeking foreign help, and he left Raja Man Singh and Mirza Yusuf behind on the pretext that it would be better for him to march alone with a view to sound his countrymen. Through the efforts of Muhammad Butt he was able to rally four thousand men around him before reaching Kashmir. He crossed the river Jhelum near the village Dalna having avoided Abdal Butt's army who had already offered some resistance and entered Srinagar triumphantly. Lohur Chak sought safety in flight, but Abdal Butt coming to the rescue was killed. Thus Lohur Chak reigned about thirteen months.

Yusuf Shah Chak

After wandering for two years and a half, Yusuf Shah re-established himself on the throne. In the beginning he devoted his attention to the affairs of the state, freed the country from mischief and re-entered into friendly relations with Syed Muhammad Mubarak to whose son he also married one of his daughters.

His nobles soon began to show their restiveness. Yusuf Chak, son of Ali Chak, fled from the prison and joined Haidar Chak at Lahore whence they proceeded to Tibet. From that country they attacked Kashmir and were defeated and their eyes were caused to be put out. Muhammad Butt and his brother Husain Butt were suddenly discovered in their designs against the king, but were punished in time. The king's son Yaqub Chak rebelled and joined Haidar Chak. Both were defeated, but Haidar Chak fled to Raja Man Singh at Lahore, who already owed Yusuf Shah a grudge for the manner in which the latter had spurned his help. To checkmate Haidar Chak's designs, Yusuf Shah sent Khwaja Qasim with presents to Man Singh. The Khwaja on his return pretended to have achieved success in his political mission, while Man Singh had already assigned the districts of Naushehra and Bhimbar to Haidar Chak as *jagir*.

Meanwhile, Akbar sent Timur Beg to Yusuf Shah and Yusuf Shah in turn sent his son Yaqub Khan with presents, to Akbar's court at Fatehpur Sikri. On receiving the news of the death of Hakim Mirza, Akbar's step-brother, then ruling at Kabul, the Emperor resolved to proceed thither and desired to interview Yusuf Shah on his way. When the latter failed to put in an appearance, he directed Hakim Ali and Saleh Aqil to present him at court. Yaqub Khan reached Kashmir after forced marches to apprise the king who instigated by Khwaja Qasim became angry with him. Yusuf Shah's nobles dissuaded him from going to Akbar's court, whereupon the latter ordered Raja Bhagwan Das, Shahrukh Mirza and Shah Qali Khan to advance upon Kashmir. Adverse climatic conditions subjected the imperial forces to untold hardships, an untimely snowfall blocked the roads and passes and dearth of provisions added to their difficulties. They could not claim a success from the military point of view. Raja Bhagwan Dass tried to save the situation by pro-

posing terms whereupon Yusuf Shah visited his camp. In his absence the Kashmir nobles placed Yaqub Khan on the throne and further attacked the imperial army, inflicting loss upon it. Raja Bhagwan Das made terms with Yaqub, the chief of them being annual payment of tribute and took Yusuf Shah to Akbar's court, where he remained a prisoner for two years, and then accompanied Todar Mal to Bengal. His reverses had completely demented him and he died in 993 A.H. after a second sway of four years.

Yaqub Shah Chak

As Habib Shah was the last of the successors of Zain-ul-Abidin, Yaqub was the last of the Chaks. On his accession he made Ali Dar his minister and himself took to a life of ease and pleasure. Misrule and oppression were rampant, sectarian quarrels and high-handedness were the order of the day.

The first minister fought and suffered for his treachery. The second minister Muhammad Butt so relentlessly persecuted the Sunnis that Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi and Baba Daud Khaki petitioned for help to Akbar and entered into the following covenant with him :

1. That the ruling prince shall not interfere with the religious affairs, the purchase and sale of commodities, and the rates of cereals.
2. That the dignitaries and officials of Kashmir shall have no Kashmiri male or female as a slave.
3. That the inhabitants of the country shall not be molested or oppressed in anyway.
4. That the nobles of Kashmir having been a source of mischief shall have at present no share in the administration of their country.

Mirza Qasim, the admiral, was ordered to march upon Kashmir with an army of forty thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. He entered Rajauri and proceeded to Srinagar. Yaqub made several attempts to retrieve his fortune but met with

success. Mirza Qasim entered Srinagar in 995 A.H. (1586 A.D.) and from that date Kashmir came under foreign domination for the first time; it now embarked upon her career as a Mughal Province.

5

Kashmir Under the Mughals

Brave though they were, the Chaks lacked the qualities essential for the making of successful rulers and administrators, hence the rapid close of their sway extending over a generation. It is unnecessary to recapitulate the early Mughal attempts on Kashmir since they have already been related in the last chapter. The Mughals held Kashmir for a considerably long period. Disintegrating forces, however, gathered strength under the emperor Muhammad Shah and Nadir Shah's invasion in 1739 A.D. hastened the disruption of the gigantic fabric of the Mughal Empire. Nadir Shah annexed Kabul, and after his death Ahmad Shan Abdali having obtained complete control over Afghanistan annexed Kashmir to his dominions.

After its conquest by Akbar in 1586 A.D., Kashmir did not readily submit to the Mughal yoke. Yusuf Shah, the ex-Chak king, was still exerting himself to regain his lost kingdom. Ibrahim Chak and Ali Chak joined him and took the Mughals unawares at Chirawoni. Yaqub Shah Chak, Yusuf's son, re-entered Srinagar as king, but his indiscreet treatment of his nobles, his cruelty to Hindus and Sunnis soon brought about his fall.

Shah Abul Maali, an opponent of Bairam Khan and a turbulent noble who had conspired to seize Kabul, also became

active. Shamsi Chak, Syed Husain Baihaqi and Shams Dobi next worsted the Mughals. The whole country was up in arms and the loss of Kashmir was again imminent. Mirza Qasim, Mir Bahr, the conqueror and viceroy of Kashmir, at last sought help from Akbar who despatched Syed Yusuf Khan Razavi with a strong force of twenty-five thousand horse, and further intructed Muhammad Butt and Baba Khalil, two influential Kashmiri nobles then residing at his court, to accompany Syed Yusuf and render him all possible help. These nobles won over several powerful Chaks to their side, consequently Yaqub Shah Chak retired to Kashtwar with Shah Abul Maali and Amina Khan.[1] The rebellion was thus quelled in 1587. Mirza Qasim came to the court with several Kashmiri nobles, leaving Mirza Yusuf Khan, son of Mir Ahmad Razavi of Mashhad, as governor in his place.

Yusuf Shah Chak and his son Yaqub Shah Chak were exiled to Bihar where they were imprisoned under the charge of Man Singh, the governor. A year or so later, Yusuf Shah Chak was released from confinement and appointed to a 'command of 500' a rank carrying a salary (according to V. A. Smith, *vide* his *Akbar*, pp. 240-41) ranging from 2,100 to 2,500 rupees a month, and inadequate to the dignity of a deposed sovereign. Yusuf Shah Chak served in that capacity under Man Singh for several years. The time and manner of his death do not appear to be recorded. But the treatment of the *ex*-ruler of Kashmir cannot be described, to use the words of V. A. Smith, as generous. It is believed in Kashmir that Akbar caused a change to be effected in the dress of the people and the effeminate *pheran* (from the Persian Pairhan) was thus introduced together with the Kangri (really Rangar).[2] "And it is possible," says Lt.

1 *Tarikh-i-Hasan* and *Tarikh-i-Khalil* both spell this name as Eba Khan, while Pt. Anand Koul Ajiz has Amina Khan. It is probable that the name was originally Amina Khan but through some copying error it has been stereotyped into Eba Khan as can be realised by those who have occasion to read manuscripts in the *shikasta* hand.

2 The statement that Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin "in his effort to reduce the proud spirit of the Hindus, insisted on the use of the Kangar, and the gown" is incredible, on the face of it, in view of the Sultan's well-known attitude towards Hindus and his invitation to those Hindus who had left the valley for fear of Malik Suja Butt, to return and resettle.

Newall (p. 434) "that this measure, one out of a long series of acts of systematic tyranny and spirit-breaking oppression, may have had its effect in changing the character of this once brave and warlike race".

In 1588 Akbar himself came to Kashmir, and spent a month visiting towns, villages, springs and streams of which the most important are Pampur, Bijbihara, and Anantnag respectively. Faizi[3] has preserved an account of this 'progress' in a beautiful *qasida* which begins with the line:

هزار قافلہ شوق می کند شبگیر   کہ بار عیش گشاید بہ خطۂ کشمیر

It was on his return march that Amina Khan and Yaqub Shah Chak both surrendered themselves to the king and accompanied him to Kabul.[4]

It must not be imagined that this was only a pleasure trip to the 'happy valley'. Akbar first showed his respect for the feelings of his subjects by proclaiming that no soldier should visit the houses of the citizens. Further, he fixed the camp of his own army and followers at Shahabpura.[5] The most important step he took was to appoint a body of three persons namely, Qazi Ali, Qazi Nurullah and Tota Ram[6] to submit a report on land produce and also levy a uniform tax thereon. As the intended measure jeopardised the interests of both officials and land-holders, the authorities appointed by the Emperor were considerably hampered in their task. Qazi Nurullah then reported the matter to the Emperor who despatched Hasan Beg and Shaikh Omar for help. The Qazi fixed the pay of the army in

3 The poet Urfi also accompanied the Emperor and wrote the well-known Qasida the first line of which is

هر سوختہ جانی کہ بہ کشمیر در آید   • گر مرغ کباب است کہ با بال و پر آید

4 *Tarikh-i-Pandit Anand Koul 'Ajiz*, *Tarikh-i-Hasan* and *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, all MSS, on which this Chapter as well as the next are largely based.

5 *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, MS., folio 149.

6 It is generally believed that the Mughals did not employ the Kashmiris in any high capacity. Pandit Tota Ram was the Peshkar of Mirza Yusuf Khan while Pandit Mahadev was Ali Mardan Khan's Peshkar to whom he entrusted all powers of administration.

cash instead of kind. This helped the storm to brew quickly. The *Subedar's* officials and landowners both uniting took Yadgar[7] Mirza as their king. Kashmir was once again in revolt. Akbar was already on his way to Kashmir. He ordered Zain Khan Kokaltash and Muhammad Sadiq Khan to proceed to Bajaur and Poonch respectively. Mirza Yusuf Khan was to receive instructions from Abul Fazl. It did not take long to suppress the rebellion which lasted fifty-one[8] days. Yadgar Mirza was taken prisoner and beheaded. Prince Salim interceded on behalf of Yusuf Khan whom the king set free but appointed Qulich Khan, governor of Kashmir, who continued in this office for six years and utilised this period chiefly in extirpating the Chaks and suppressing the malcontents.

During his first visit, Akbar had directed Mirza Yusuf Khan Mashhadi, his governor, to build the Nagarkot on the Koh-i-Maran at a cost of one crore and ten lakhs. The construction was undertaken, it is said, chiefly with a view to afford relief to the famine-stricken though really overawe the valley people, and had for its supervision a Kashmiri, Muhammad Husain Kunt by name. Other places and gardens which added a charm to the natural beauty of the country were also erected. During his second visit to Kashmir, Akbar directed operations against Aju Rai, the ruler of Tibet *Kalan* and *Khurd* who offered resistance. The latter was consequently replaced by one Ali Rai who also held a principality in that vicinity.

Towards the close of Akbar's reign a severe famine appeared in Kashmir and assumed such an alarming virulence that Akbar had to transport grain and cereals from Sialkot to alleviate the misery of the sufferers.

Under Akbar the new land assessment resulted in an increase of revenue, which, as recorded by the king's officials, amounted to over a lakh of *Kharwar* (a *Kharwar* being equal to 3 maunds and 8 seers of Akbar's reign and being reckoned at 16 dams of Akbar's currency). The king had graciously remitted a tax

7 Yadgar Mirza was the son of Hakim Mirza born of a concubine, and had been left by Yusuf Khan to act as governor during his absence, *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, folio 208.

8 *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, folio 160.

called the *Baj Tumgha*. In normal times a maund of wheat could be purchased for five annas.

Under Jahangir, Kashmir had seven *Subedars* appointed at various intervals to govern that province. With the exception of Qulich Khan (1606) and Iradat Khan (1620) all were just, and numerous are the instances of their justice. The Hindus of Kashmir complained against Qul'ch Khan to Emperor Jahangir who communicated the following[9] warning to him:

حکومت پناها! دادخواهان تو بسیار　　شکرگذاران تو کم
آب سحاب برلب، تشنگان بریز　　ورنه از حکومت برخیز

"Protection of dominion! Thy complainants are many, thy thanksgivers few. Pour cloud-water on the thirsty people or else relinquish thy administrative post."

The above warning is sufficient to show how solicitous the Mughals were of the welfare of the country and its people. During the entire period of one hundred and sixty-six years in which Kashmir was under the Mughals, there are, out of a number of 63 governors, only six instances of high-handed treatment of the Brahmins.[10]

Jahangir was essentially a lover of nature: Kashmir, therefore, appealed to him particulary. In 1619 urged by Haidar Malik Chadaura,[11] he visited Kashmir for the first time accompanied

9 *See* p. 48. *The Kashmiri Pandit* by Pandit Anand Koul.
10 *Ibid*.
11 Haidar Malik Chadaura, whose *History* we have utilized, was the son of Malik Hasan bin Kamal Malik Naji (the son of Malik Nusrat Chadaura) and wrote his *History of Kashmir* (total number of pages 235 demy, MS.,) from the earliest times to his own in Persian in 1027 A.H. (1617 A.D.), the 12th year of the accession of Jahangir. Haider Malik and his brother Ali Malik were Kashmir noblemen. When the Jama Masjid was consumed by fire during the reign of Jahangir, Malik Hasan, the father of Haidar Malik, who was a Shia, was accused of having been concerned, along with other leading Shias, in the conflagration. It is said that, at the instance of Nur Jahan, he was consequently compelled to re-build it at his own expense. The Jama Masjid that was originally built by Sultan Sikandar was twice partially destroyed by fire previous to the reign of Jahangir and was rebuilt by Sultan Hasan Shah and later by Ibrahim Magre. Haidar Malik won the favour of Nur Jahan and became her confidant and

by his beautiful Queen Nur Jahan "whose[12] romantic spirit appears to have led her lord and emperor into the most secluded and picturesque recesses of the valley, many of which pleasant retreats are to this day pointed out as the spots where the royal pair were wont to disport themselves in those days of regal abandon." His account of the journey and his impressions of the country, its peoples, their costumes and modes of life, of the variety of the picturesque scenery he beheld, are all vividly and picturesquely recorded in his own inimitable and ravishing style in his *Memoirs*. He built many palaces and summer-houses, more especially he completed the construction of the celebrated Shalamar gardens. The ruins of palaces at Manasbal, Achhabal, Verinag, etc., attest to Nur Jahan's taste in selecting picturesque sites.[13]

Both Qulich Khan and Saadat Khan suppressed the Chaks with a strong hand. All their hauteur departed and they took to humbler ways of life and either accepted humble posts or settled down as husbandmen and farmers and horse-keepers. Itiqad Khan imposed severe and unjust restrictions upon the agriculturist class and introduced the evil practice of requisitioning or attaching fruit gardens, of reserving jungles and villages and of exacting forced labour particularly in connection with the plucking of saffron flowers which formed an asset of imperial revenue. Shah Jahan, however, revoked these practices by issuing a special *Firman* after his accession.

Jahangir paid very close attention to the welfare of his subjects. He observed and prohibited in Kashtwar the perishing of Muslim women like their Hindu sisters with the remains of their husbands. He also forbade inter-marriages between the Hindus

conducted several works of improvement and utility. He had the title of Rais-ul-Mulk and appears to have held an important appointment under the Mughal Subedar of Kashmir. Chadaura or Cadura is the name of the village (in the Nazam pargana, some ten miles south of Srinagar) to which Haidar Malik belonged. The *Khanqah* of Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi originally built by Daulat Shah Chak was re-built by Haidar Malik.

12 Lt. Newall, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, p. 436.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 437.

and Muslim women, but, however allowed Muslims to marry Hindu women.

As regards territorial extension, Jahangir's reign witnessed the conquest of Kashtwar which operation had been entrusted to the care of Dilawar Khan, governor of Kashmir. As a reward for this service the king allowed him to appropriate to himself one year's revenue of the valley.

In Jahangir's reign the epidemic of plague infested the country so virulently that the dead were thrown into the river without even the last rites being performed. During the regime of Dilawar Khan, the fifth governor, following the portentous appearance of a comet, the rats appeared in alarming numbers and considerably damaged the crops.

Owing to difficulties experienced in his journey, Jahangir ordered suitable lodgings which were consequently constructed for the king and the *Harem* at every stage. He further ordered a garden to be built at the Verinag spring. In this garden there was a picture gallery in which pictures of Humayun, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Abbas, king of Persia, were hung. Dilawar Khan and Iradat Khan, two of his governors, also constructed gardens at Barari Nambal and Naopore respectively.

It remains to add that in Jahangir's reign[14] Kashmir yielded a revenue amounting to 7,46,70,000 dams which unmistakably enough indicates the prosperity enjoyed by Kashmir during his rule.

Like Jahangir, Shah Jahan also visited Kashmir four times during his reign at intervals of five or seven years. He appointed nine governors altogether, of whom two namely, Zafar Khan and Ali Mardan Khan had been re-appointed. Itiqad Khan, who had been appointed by Jahangir, was allowed to continue in his office, but his high-handedness and oppressive rule brought about his removal. Zafar Khan, whose original name was Ahsanullah Khan *Ahsan* and "Zafar Khan" was the title conferred on him by Shah Jahan on account of his courage and coolness, succeeded him in lieu of his father Abdul Hasan who was too infirm and aged to assume the onerous duties of governorship in person. Zafar Khan's excellent administration attracted

14 Fauq : *Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Part II, p. 198.

the king's attention and he was soon confirmed in his post. He is chiefly remembered for his final conquest of Tibet, and the removal of hardships which Itiqad Khan had imposed upon the people of Kashmir. To this effect he obtained a *Firman* from Shah Jahan and had it engraved on a stone which was put into the masonry of the gate of the Jama Masjid in Srinagar. Further, he planted several gardens to add to the beauty of the country. He also introduced varieties of new fruits and flowers in Kashmir. He was a talented person and patronized Saib of Isfahan who afterwards became the poet laureate of Persia, and has himself left behind a *Masnavi* called the *Haft Manzil* in praise of Kashmir which he presented to Shah Jahan on his third visit. In one place, in his *Masnavi*, Zafar Khan says:

الهی تا بود کشمیر آباد   زگلزار خراسانم مده یاد
بهر کس هرچه خواهد بی سخن ده   مرا کشمیر بلبل را چمن ده

Ali Mardan Khan was originally a Persian who had obtained a treasure at Qandhar but being unwilling to surrender it to his master the Shah of Persia, sought Shah Jahan's protection and was twice appointed governor of Kashmir. He was just and generous, and so lavishly spent his money that even Shah Jahan was astonished and was consequently popularly credited with the possession of the philosophier's stone. He had a Hindu secretary during his second tenure of office who also enriched himself considerably. Besides planting gardens, he raised a number of *Serais* and also repaired the Hirapore road for the convenience of travellers. In spite of his tendency to a life of ease, he was quite solicitous of the welfare of the country. The king, too, was no less keenly interested in the material advancement and well-being of the people of Kashmir, and when severe famine broke out in the days of Tarbiyat Khan he appointed energetic officers to adopt relief measures. Corn was exported from Lahore, Jullundar, Sialkot, Kalanaur and other districts of the Punjab to be distributed free among the sufferers. All the queens and princes were invited and voluntarily contributed towards the relief fund started for the purpose of alleviating the misery prevailing in Kashmir. Further, the king removed Tarbiyat Khan for his inability to cope with the task. It must be noted that during the regime of Lashkar Khan, the last governor

under Shah Jahan, the country enjoyed such a spell of prosperity that a bag of *Shali* (unhusked rice) could be had for a fowl.[15]

Both under Jahangir and Shah Jahan, Kashmir shone with a galaxy of famous poets like Kalim, Qudsi, Auji, Tughra, Mir Ilahi, Nadim, Fasihi, Fitrati, Fahmi and Khwaja Momin whose verses are often quoted by lexicographers as authority. Some of them were, of course, of Persian origin; but they loved Kashmir more than their own native land and wished to end their lives there. Kalim, for instance, died in Kashmir. Their number and presence in Kashmir indicate the climax of intellectual attainments of this country in literature and *belles-lettres*.

The number of the governors appointed by Aurangzeb amount to fourteen of whom Ibrahim Khan held the appointment thrice, while Saif Khan was sent twice. In spite of pressure of work and personal attention devoted by the king to all departments of the State, he held the welfare of his province next to his heart. Nothing escaped his vigilant eye, and he lost no time in taking effective measures to improve the condition of the people. Ibrahim Khan was twice removed from governorship for backing the Shiahs in sectarian feuds. Similarly, Muzaffar Khan paid dearly for his imposition of unjust and heavy taxes. Hence it cannot be said that the *Subedars* had a free hand in Kashmir. The subjects were treated mildly and justly, and the *Subedars* were, with the rare exception of Muzaffar Khan and Abu Nasar Khan, rigorous advocates of justice. Saif Khan caused Khwaja Muhammad Naqshbandi to be bastinadoed to death for having himself bastinadoed a Hindu. Quivam-ud-Din Khan is famous for his invention of *Lakhta Kulah* for criminals. Itimad Khan, Iftikhar Khan, Hifzullah Khan and Fazil Khan acted in an impartial manner and did their best in personally dealing out justice and in looking after the people. They also tried to improve the general appearance of the country and its towns by laying out gardens, populating villages and relieving agriculturist class of the heavy taxes of their predecessors. Ibrahim Khan, Islam Khan and Fazil Khan erected mosques; the last named built inns, rest houses and also a well-known Madrassa.

15 *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, folio 192.

Fire, famine, earthquake and flood each occurring at intervals, inflicted considerable hardships including loss of property on the people. In those days it was difficult to stem the tide of these calamities; nevertheless steps were promptly taken to alleviate the misery whenever it was possible to do so. After the *Kawadora* fire, Aurangzeb sent Ibrahim Khan with urgent and explicit orders to help the people rebuild their houses and to furnish him with a report on the progress of these measures. Only after the houses had been rebuilt, reconstruction of the Jama Masjid which had also perished in the fire was undertaken.

Sectarian fights between the Shias and Sunnis were not uncommon in those days. As a matter of fact, it is a mistake to judge the happenings of those times from the present day point of view. Europe itself did not pass unscathed through the ordeal of Reformation. Religious feelings were bitter everywhere. It was particularly so in Kashmir where Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi's propagation of Shiite doctrines had proved fruitful and the minds of both the sects were, therefore, in a state of frenzy. Moreover, we should not lose sight of the fact that the first converts are, as a rule, very zealous and at times fanatical. The Chaks, who were Shias by faith, had lost their domination only recently; the grieved minds of the Shias looked upon this fact both as personal and religious grievance. It is, therefore, small wonder that riots and disturbances between them and the Sunnis were recurring at intervals in those days when the people rarely realised the significance of unity and homogeneity. Even today India cannot be called a united country or one free from religious squabbles, the city of Delhi itself, being at present perhaps a greater sinner.

Among external affairs touching Kashmir, there are several. The Qalmaqs, descended from a branch of the Mongol race, invaded Tibet Kalan and the ruler himself being unable to defend the country sought help from the Emperor. Consequently Fidai Khan was ordered by Ibrahim Khan, the then governor, to drive out the Qalmaqs which object was successfully attained. But when the ruler of that country rebelled at a subsequent date, Saif Khan chastised him. He embraced Islam and returned to Tibet where he built a grand mosque. Similarly, the Raja of

Bajaur became a convert to Islam after his defeat and his kingdom was restored to him in the third tenure of Ibrahim Khan's governorship. The Raja of Jammu broke out into open revolt and was reduced to submission by Hifzullah Khan who had succeeded Ibrahim Khan. Abdullah, the ruler of Kashghar, was driven out by his son, and on his way to a pilgrimage to Mecca was received and entertained in a royal manner by Mubariz Khan, and when Abdullah Khan his nephew came to Kashmir for help against his brother, the matter was referred to Aurangzeb by Ibrahim Khan who communicated the Emperor's wishes to the refugee prince asking him to seek help from the governor of Kabul. As a matter of fact, Aurangzeb had the intention of conquering Kashghar but he was dissuaded from entering upon the campaign. This shows that Kashmir was at the time a strong outpost of the Mughal Empire.

Unlike his predecessors, Aurangzeb visited Kashmir with a large following only once in 1075 A.H. (1664 A.D.). (See Bermier's *Travel*, for a graphic account of this visit). His experience of the journey was not, however, a happy one chiefly owing to an accident in which an elephant missing his foot rolled down to the bottom of a *Khud* carrying in its passage many camp followers and even some ladies of the royal *Zenana* besides injuring a number of men somewhat seriously. Moreover, he did not remain in Hindustan during the second half of his reign. The Deccan engaged his attention, and in that country he passed away in 1707 A.D. after a long reign extending over a period of fifty years. *Mulla* Tahir Ghani, the great poet of Kashmir, died during the reign of Aurangzeb.

Nawazish Khan, the governor-elect, was on his way to Kashmir when he received the news of Aurangzeb's death. He was replaced by Jafar Khan after a year. The latter proved to be a tyrant and a drunkard. During his governorship, Qazi Haidar surnamed Qazi Khan, a Kashmiri by birth who held the important office of the Chief Qazi under Aurangzeb passed away, and his remains were interred in his own garden in the village of Bachhpur. Hard drinking soon put an end to the career of Jafar Khan, the next governor. Ibrahim Khan, Nawazish Khan, Amanat Khan and Musharraf Khan ruled Kashmir one after the other.

The governors under Shah Alam began to sent their representatives in their place to rule the country, and the practice acquired considerable vogue in later years. Amanat Khan and Musharraf Khan were both representatives of Inayatullah Khan who had been appointed to succeed Nawazish Khan. There is very little of importance to chronicle in the brief reign of Shah Alam (Bahadur Shah I) which terminated in 1712 A.D.

Jahandar Shah, Farrukh Siyar, Rafi-ud-Darajat and Rafi-ud-Dowllah were set upon the throne of Delhi and disappeared in quick succession either through death or by violence. The only notable incident which took place in Kashmir was the revolt of Raja Muzaffar Khan Bamba in 1124 A.H., and his possession of Darawah[16] and Karnao, both fiefs of the *Subedar* of Kashmir. Inayatullah Khan, the governor, was unable to reduce him to subjection owing to the death of Jahandar Shah; this task was, however, performed by Ali Muhammad Khan in the reign of Farrukh Siyar. The same *Subedar* also punished Abul Fatah, the *zamindar* of Poonch. But he did not prove to be a good governor and was soon recalled for levying unjust taxes.

Muhammad Shah had now ascended the throne in 1719 A.D. Under him Kashmir entered upon a new phase of political life in that the *Subedars* abstained from ruling their provinces in person. On the other hand, they deputed trusted agents answerable to them for good conduct and administration. Muhammad Shah invested Inayatullah Khan with the governorship of Kashmir, and his *Naib*, Mir Ahmad, made *amende honorable* for the excesses of his predecessors by his good and equitable administration. Inayatullah[17] himself "seems to have been a conscientious man and selected his *Naibs* with a view to the faithful government of the country".[18] Mir Ahmad was, however, unable to put down the sectarian riots worked up by a fanatic *Mulla* named Muhtavi Khan. The second *Naib*,

16 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, folios 258-59; *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, folio 234.

17 He was Kashmiri by birth. His mother acted as teacher to the ladies of the royal seraglio in the days of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Through his mother's influence he gradually rose to posts of high distinction. See *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, folio 254, also *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, folio 265.

18 Newall, *J.A.S.B.* No. 5, 1854, p. 442.

Abdullah Khan, also failed, but Momin Khan, the third *Naib*, succeeded in putting Muhtavi Khan to death but was still unequal to the task of governing the country whereupon Inayatullah resigned his post and Abdus Samad Saif-ud-Dowlah was appointed to fill it in 1722 A.D.

Saif-ud-Dowlah proceeded from Lahore with a large army. He put Mulla Sharf-ud-Din to death and hanged fifty insurgents in one excursion. "The Pandits had been forbidden to bind turban, to ride, to put on good clothes, to wear *tilak* and to send their sons to schools for the past one and half year. He removed these restrictions and there was justice again in the land, and the bards of the city sang :

"Haqqa av Samad phutrun zin
Na rud kune Sharaf na rud kune Din."

"Verily Samad came swiftly. There remained neither Sharaf (cardinalship) nor Din (bigotry) anywhere."[19]

In 1724, Inayatullah was re-appointed governor of Kashmir, but died after a few months. Aqidat Khan, the next governor-elect, appointed Abul Barakat his *Naib* who proved a failure. Aghur Khan succeeded Aqidat Khan in 1727 A.D., and on his arrival in Kashmir began to oppress the people, and sent Abul Barakat who opposed him, a prisoner to Delhi. He was, however, chased out to Baramula by the populace where he received orders of his dismissal.

In Muhammad Shah's reign, the history of Kashmir presents little else but a record of 'local riots' and internecine struggles in which Abul Barakat appears as the champion of popular cause at times of fires, floods, earthquakes and wind storms which only enhanced the misery of the people. The *Naibs* fought either with the neighbouring chiefs and nobles, or with their own master as was the case of Abul Barakat. It cannot be gainsaid that the emperor's personal character largely accounted for good administration in distant provinces. But now Muhammad Shah and his nobles had all abandoned themselves to a life of ease and pleasure for which the element of Indian blood in them is

19 *The Kashmiri Pandit* by Pandit Anand Koul, p. 50.

considered to be largely responsible. Moreover, Nadir Shah's presence in Afghanistan and his subsequent invasion of Hindustan exerted an unfavourable influence on all provinces particularly Kashmir which was not far a way from Afghanistan, the home of the redoutable Ahmad Shah Abdali. All these circumstances combined to unsettle authority and cause anarchy to become rampant in Kashmir. The situation did not improve under Ahmad Shah who succeeded Muhammad Shah on the throne of Delhi in 1748 A.D., a year after Nadir Shah's death.

Such was the condition of Kashmir when in 1747 A.D. the nobles in that province invited Ahmad Shah Abdali to annex Kashmir, and when this letter fell into the hands of Afrasiab, the Mughal pro-consul, they broke out into open revolt and asked Ahmad Shah, the Mughal emperor of India, to appoint a governor. Consequently Mir Muqim was appointed as a temporary measure, but he was soon driven out by Abul Qasim, a son of Abul Barakat.[20] In 1752 A.D. when Abmad Shah Abdali was at Lahore preparing for an invasion of Hindustan. Mir Muqim and Khwaja Zahir Didamari craved his assistance. Thereupon Ahmad Shah Abdali despatched Abdullah Khan Eshak Aqasi with a considerable force. After some ineffectual negotiations, Abul Qasim, the Mughal governor, fought the Afghans at Gand-nemat for fifteen days. His commander-in-chief, Gul Khan Khaibari, deserted him whereupon he fled and was taken prisoner.

Coming events cast their shadows before. The Afghans made a bad start, Abdullah Khan Eshak Aqasi, the Afghan governor, ruled Kashmir for six months, but so oppressive was his rule that no less than eighty big merchants migrated to their native towns in India. Trade was therefore paralysed and people of every class suffered.[21] Before his departure from Kashmir Aqasi appoin-ted Azam Khan,[22] paymaster of the Afghan forces in Kashmir, Raja Sukh Jiwan Mal his administrator, Khwaja Abdullah *alias* Khwaja[23] Kujak his *Naib*, besides raising the rank of Khwaja Abul Hasan. On his return to Kabul Aqasi presented his mas-

20 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, folio 287.
21 *Ibid.*, folio 305.
22 *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, folio 292.
23 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, folio 305.

ter with a crore of rupees which he had wrung from the exhausted people of Kashmir. He also took to Kabul Abul Qasim (the son of Abul Barakat) whom Ahmad Shah Abdali showed considerable favour.

6

Kashmir Under the Afghans

After the departure of Abdullah Khan Eshak Aqasi from Kashmir the country was practically ruled by Raja Sukh Jiwan as *Nazim* and Abul Hasan Khan, who acted as *Wazir* or chief advisor to him. It is notable that under the Afghan rule a number of governors tried to sever their connection with Kabul and to establish themselves as independent rulers of the country. Some of them enjoyed a brief spell of independence but were at last reduced to subjection. Raja Sukh Jiwan was the first to assert his independence with the aid of Abul Hasan Khan. Khwaja Kujak,[1] Malik Hasan Khan Irani, Azam Khan and Mirza Khan opposed him but were defeated with disastrous results at Baramula. Sukh Jiwan next defeated Ahmad Shah Abdali's army under Abdullah Khan Eshak Aqasi.[2]

A severe famine engaged Sukh Jiwan's attention for some time. Abul Hasan Khan proved himself up to the mark in alleviating the miseries of the famine-stricken people by advancing loans of seed grains which were realized in full as late as 1250 A.H. (1834 A.D.).[3] In this way many men were rescued from the clutches of death.

1 & 2 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, MS. folio 306.
3 *Ibid*.

Finding the Punjab in a disturbed condition, Sukh Jiwan Mal attempted[4] the conquest of Sialkot, Bhimbar and Akhnaur but suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of Yar Khan, governor of Sialkot, owing chiefly to the jealousy of the Raja of Jammu.

Sukh Jiwan's quarrel with Abul Hasan Khan, however, spelt disaster for him and although he drove out that noble and wreaked vengeance upon his kinsmen, he was nevertheless deserted by his own chiefs when in 1752 A.D. he faced Afghan force under Nur-ud-Din Khan and was consequently taken prisoner and sent in chains before Ahmad Shah Abdali who caused him to be trampled to death.

In the beginning of his regime Sukh Jiwan was a just and good governor, in fact, showed much favour to the Muhammadans but after his quarrel with Abul Hasan Khan he became an oppressor and subjected the Muhammadans to considerable hardships, forbidding even the call[5] to prayers and imposing similar other restrictions upon them. But otherwise he was a patron of poets and men of letters and a poet himself. Before his tragic death he was blinded when he composed the following verses so full of pathos:

چشم از وضع جهان پوشیده به   سربسر احوال آن نادیده به
هرکه چون من داشت جا بر فرق کل   عاقبت در خاک و خون غلطیده به
چند روزے خود تماشا کرده ام   زین چمن گلهاے عبرت چیده به
گر دهی شیرش دهد زهرت عوض   زین سیه مار جهان ترسیده به
باز اگر چشم جهان بینم دهند   چون گدایان در بدر گردیده به

Nur-ud-Din Khan then ruled Kashmir for some time[6] and endeavoured to restore the exhausted country, and the people were on the whole, happy and prosperous under him. His successor Baland Khan remitted all taxes.[7] He also treated Hindus and

4 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, MS., folio 307, and *Tarikh-Khalil*, MS., folio 294.

5 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, MS., folio 308.

6 There is a difference of opinion about the duration of his first regime. Lt. Newall, (*J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, p 447) states it to be 8 years, *Tarikh-i-Hasan* reduces it to only three months. *Tarikh-i-Khalil* and Diwan Kirpa Ram's *Gulzar-i-Kashmir* give two years.

7 Lt. Newall, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, p. 447.

Muslims[8] alike. In 1765 A.D. Nur-ud-Din Khan was again appointed as governor. Mir Muqim Kunt and Pandit Kailas Dar were his councillors, the latter being responsible for the revenue of the country. Mir Muqim induced Nur-ud-Din to demand daily payments of revenue from Pandit Kailas Dar who, however, encompassed[9] the death of his antagonist through an accomplice Hakim Mir. The secret being known, Nur-ud-Din made no attempt to bring the culprit to justice. It was probably due to this neglect that he anticipated orders of his removal and leaving his nephew Jan Muhammad Khan in his place, he proceeded to plead his case at Kabul. Meanwhile, Lal Khan Khatak displaced Jan Muhammad Khan and began a career of terrorism and oppression. Khurram Khan was despatched from Kabul to fill Nur-ud-Din's place. Upon this Lal Khan at once proceeded to resist his entry, but retired to his fort at Birwa after sustaining a defeat.

Faqirullah, Mir Muqim Kunt's son, who was seeking an opportunity to avenge his father's murder, now made his appearance at Sopur with the army of Sultan Mahmud Bamba; Lal Khan again retired to his fort with the loss of an eye. Faqirullah, therefore, suddenly found himself in the governor's seat in 1767 A.D. His allies among the Bambas oppressed the people immeasurably. Kashmir knew no authority for a space of eleven months and it is strange how Ahmad Shah Abdali could allow such a state of affairs to exist. At last in 1769 A.D. Nur-ud-Din was for the third time appointed governor, as no other person was considered to be capable of reducing the country to a state of order. Faqirullah sought refuge with the ruler of Muzaffarabad after an unsuccessful engagement near the village of Gauripur but still intending further resistance when he was seized with a severe malady due to excessive drinking at Shadipur and died at the same place. Nur-ud-Din ruled for two years with a severe hand and suppressed the malcontents, when he was relieved by Khurram Khan in 1770 A.D.

Pandit Kailas Dar induced his patron, Khurram Khan, during his stay at Kabul to try for the subedarship of Kashmir in which

8 *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, MS., folio 298.

9 *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, folio 234; *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, folio 298.

project he at last succeeded in 1770 A.D. He had already shown his inability to rule and now displayed his timidity also. Amir Khan Sher Jawan, his commander-in-chief, soon drove him out and installed himself as governor of his own account. Instead of seeking help from some outside prince he tried to win over the Hanjis (boatsmen) who were a sturdy class of people capable of answering his purpose and built the fort of Shergarhi, now the residence of the Maharaja, and also the Amira Kadal (bridge). The reconstruction of a building on the island called Sona Lank and the Amirabad garden also owe their origin to this chief.[10] But he committed an act of gross vandalism in pulling down the royal palaces and other buildings around the Dal which it had taken the Mughals and their nobles one hundred and seventy years to build. In 1770 A.D. Ahmad Shah Abdali passed away to his eternal rest. This circumstance so emboldened Amir Khan Sher Jawan that he actually set himself up as an independent ruler and successfully enjoyed his authority for six years. He put both Hindus and Muhammadans to death, and avenged the murder of Mir Muqim by killing Pandit Kailas Dar. His rule was distinguished by oppression and high-handedness, in which he was set on by his *Peshkar*, Mir Fazil Kunt. Srinagar suffered very much owing to a flood in the Jhelum river.

At last in 1776 A.D. Timur Shah, Ahmad Shah Abdali's son, designated Haji Karimdad Khan[11] to the governorship of Kashmir, who after defeating Amir Khan Sher Jawan sent him in chains to Kabul where he remained in prison for a considerable time, but was at last pardoned by Timur Shah. Haji Karimdad began his regime by reducing Murad Khan, the *raja* of Askardo, to subjection from whom he exacted tribute and demanded hostages. Timur Shah conferred upon him the title of Shuja-ul-Mulk for this achievement. Next, he defeated Ranjit Dev, the Raja of Jammu, who had invaded Kashmir with an army of 30,000 strong. He further directed his forces against Mahmud Khan, the chief of Muzaffarabad, who had hampered him in his expedition against Kashmir. In this operation he had

10 Lt. Newall, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, folio 448, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, p. 237.
11 *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, folio 306-08; *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, folio 319-21.

to suffer considerable chagrin and humiliation owing to the treachery of Fateh Khan the Chief of Katai, who led Tar Quli Khan and his army in a close defile in which the former despoiled them of all their weapons and equipment and drove them out. Tar Quli was at once put to death on his return. In 1195 A.H. (1780 A.D.) the governor himself conducted an army against Mahmud Khan, but was beaten back by Bahadur Khan, son of Bira Khan Khakh. Next year he was more fortunate in conquering Kashtwar.

Haji Karimdad was a heartless monster and killed Hindus and Muhammadans indiscriminately. His exactions, through Aslam Harkara, his unscrupulous tax-collector, exceeded even those of the notorious Itiqad Khan, the Mughal Subah, and compelled many to leave the country. *Zar-i-Niyaz* was exacted from officials and landlords, *Zar-i-Habubat* from farmers. He was once ingenious enough to conceal his tax-gatherers and to demand them from the Pandits whom he accused of killing them. He exposed the latter to smoke, and for liberating them exacted from them Rs. 50,000 annually, the exaction being called *Zar-i-Dud*. He was advised by Dila Ram Quli to extort 'dagh shawl,' an anna per rupee on every piece of shawl from the shawl weavers also. His good deeds consisted only in the repairing of the roof of the Jama Masjid, and in visiting the tombs of saints besides avenging the murder of Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Naqshbandi but he treated the Shiahs harshly and devastated Amirabad. In his regime the country suffered from earthquakes for three months at intervals, and many men were rendered homeless. He passed away in 1197 A.H. (1783 A.D.) after a regime of seven years and his son being away on an expedition, his death was kept a secret till the latter's arrival.

Azad Khan succeeded his father, Haji Karimdad Khan, in 1783 A.D. He seems to have occupied his father's office on the assumption that it was a hereditary post. He was a perfect savage and out-matched his father in ferocity and bloodshed. He was whimsical in that while he dressed his slaves and followers magnificently, he himself wore very simple clothes, and frequently went out hunting.

He appointed Dila Ram Quli as his *Peshkar*, and turned his

attention to extend his influence among the neighbouring chiefs.[12] The Raja of Kashtwar was the first to bear the brunt of his savagery. Rustam Khan of Poonch being unable to withstand him, abandoned the city which was pillaged and sacked for a week, but Rustam Khan subsequently appeased him by offering rich presents. The Raja of Rajauri was also reduced to submission. Afterwards he tried but failed in making a canal to irrigate the Maya Soma plain, and impressed the village-folk of Marraj and Kamraj for that purpose.

He wished to remove his allegiance from Timur Shah who, however, despatched Kifayat Khan to exact tribute from him. Kifayat Khan returned with three lakh of rupees[13] but his mission did not prove a success. Timur Shah then appointed his brothers, Murtaza Khan and Zaman Khan to chastise him. They were, however, defeated after three days' fighting, and were prevented by famine and cholera from making another attempt. Consequently Azad Khan persisted in his career of cruelty and excesses. His cousin Pahlwan Khan and others made an abortive attempt upon his life after which they broke out into rebellion, and were at last seized and done to death in the most cold-blooded manner.

During Azad Khan's regime the country passed through terrible ordeals. There was a frightful famine in Kashmir, salt could not be had at even Rs. 4 per seer and a series of earthquake shocks occurring intermittently for 3 months added to the people's misfortunes and they complained to Timur Shah and earnestly besought him to act promptly. At last Saif-ud-Dowlah came with fifty[14] thousand horse and foot in 1785 A.D. From Muzaffarabad he despatched one detachment by way of Baramula where he engaged Azad Khan while he himself advanced with the other by way of Karna and effected his entry into Srinagar. Azad Khan thereupon fell back on Khushipura, where he was deserted first by Islam Khan and thereafter by other chiefs. Reduced to hard straits, he fled to Poonch and was hemmed in and put to death in 1785 A.D.

12 *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, folios 309-10, and *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, p. 322.

13 *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, folio 323.

14 *Tarikh-i-Khalil*, gives the strength of the punitive army as 4,000 horse and foot, see folio 311.

Saif-ud-Dowlah Madad Khan then ruled for nine months but before he could restore order and tranquillity, he was relieved by Mir Dad Khan. This nobleman ruled for seven months, and imposed unjust taxes. He reduced Mir Jafar Kunt of Kamraj to submission and died after a regime of two years and one month in 1788 A.D.

Juma Khan Alkozai was the next important governor who held office for four years. Hasan Ali Khan Bamu of Kamraj, Rustam Ali Khan of Poonch, Karamullah Khan of Rajauri all showed signs of restiveness and were successfully defeated. His chief sin lies in realizing through contracts the dues pertaining to the offices of the Qazi and the Judge. Under his order the Shiahs were prohibited from observing their "passion week". The parts of the city known as Khanyar (Khana-i-Yar) and Ranawari suffered from a heavy flood caused by the Qazizada Dam giving way to heavy rush of water. He died of diarrhoea in 1793 and was buried in the compound of the tomb of Syed Qamar-ud-Din whence his dead body was removed to Qandhar after some time.

Rahmatullah held the governorship temporarily till the arrival of Mir Hazar Khan (1792 A.D.), in the beginning of whose tenure Timur Shah passed away. Zaman Shah, the next ruler, confirmed Mir Hazar in his post.

It seems that the Pathan governors were seldom actuated by sentiments of loyalty to their sovereign. Hence their frequent attempts to throw off the yoke of submission. Mir Hazar also took advantage of the circumstances, and set himself up as an independent governor, and imprisoned his father Mirza Khan who had been deputed from Kabul to make him see sense. He oppressed the Shiahs and the Hindus beyond measure and imposed *jazia* on the latter. Ahmad Khan Shahanchi Bashi and Rahmatullah Khan were appointed by Timur Shah to chastise him. A number of his nobles having deserted him, he took sanctuary in the Khanqah-i-Moalla when he was subsequently enticed out and kept a prisoner. His *regime* extended over a period of one year and two months.

In 1794 A.D. Rahmatullah Khan ruled for four months, but was recalled for quarrelling with Ahmad Khan. Kifayat Khan succeeded him in 1794. He was a generous and a well-meaning

person. During his brief sway of one year the Sunnis and Shiahs quarrelled but were soon suppressed. He further suppressed a rebellion of the Bambas in Kamraj, and planted a garden in Khanyar. A serious quarrel among his nobles led to his dismissal in 1795 A.D. Arsalan Khan was next invested with the governorship of Kashmir. Following the practice of the later *subedars* under the Mughals he sent Muhammad Khan Jawan Sher to rule in his place. Some of Muhammad Khan's relatives who were officers of a body of the Jawan Sher tribesmen rebelled against him and besieged him in the Shergarhi fort. A compromise being arrived at, Muhammad Khan shared his authority with them. Soon after this, Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Dowlah, directed from Kabul, arrived in Kashmir and took away all the contending parties with him to Kabul.

Abdullah Khan Alkozai filled the vacant post of governor in 1795 A.D. He ruled the country for about eleven years not without experiencing the mutability of fortune. For the first three years of his regime the country was governed by someone of his brothers who it seems performed their duties sincerely and conscientiously. In 1213 A.H. (1798 A.D.) on returning from Kabul, he systematically began to strengthen himself and entertain ambitious designs. He first managed to free the capital from the presence of the chiefs and nobles. Next he appointed men of humble origin to higher posts. Further, he enlisted an army of thirty thousand men and entered into alliances with the neighouring chiefs. It was in this connection that he married the daughter of Fateh Khan Bamba, the chief of Muzaffarabad. Besides, he ruled the country mildly and justly so as to please everybody.

Abdullah Khan's quarrel in 1800 A.D. with his Diwan, Hara Das, who was a protege of Diwan Nand Ram, the favourite of Waffadar the minister at Kabul, resulted in his recall and finally in his imprisonment in the Bala Hisar at Kabul. Before leaving Kashmir he set up his brother Ata Muhammad Khan in his place and secretly wrote to him as well as the chief of Muzaffarabad to hold out the country for him and resist the new governor. The *Wazir* of Kabul, Wafadar Khan appointed Abdullah Khan's brother Vakil Khan who was then in Kashmir as governor and sent Mulla Ahmad Khan to executu

his orders. Ata Muhammad Khan first killed his brother Vakil Khan, and then defeated and captured Mulla Ahmad Khan.

In 1216 A.H. (1801 A.D.) Zaman Shah was seized and blinded by his brother, Mahmud Shah of Herat. The new circumstances encouraged the insurgents all the more. Further, Abdulla Khan conspired and escaped to Kashmir with Jan Nisar Ali Khan, the commandant of Bala Hisar, whom he presented with a lakh of rupees. He then attended to his affairs in Kashmir, built a fort in the *pargana* of Birwa, and finally withheld the tribute thereby proclaiming his independence.

At this stage Kabul witnessed a rapid change of its rulers. Mahmud Shah was deposed by his brother Shuja-ul-Mulk who in 1806 A.D. despatched Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Dowlah to bring Kashmir into subjection. Sher Muhammad Khan arrived at Muzaffarabad and opened negotiations chiefly with the object of taking his adversary unawares. After receiving reinforcements from the neighbouring *rajas* he made a sudden attack on Abdullah Khan's army who retreated but offered battle at Doabagah whence he fled to his fort at Birwa. Ata Muhammad Khan, son of Sher Muhammad Khan, was ordered to besiege that fort. The besiegers and the besieged continued to fight when Abdullah Khan suddenly died in 1807 A.D.

In 1809, Kabul was again a scene of strife and struggle between various claimants to the throne. Mahmud Shah was set free by some conspirators, Prince Qaisar and others waged wars against each other. In these internecine struggles Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Dowlah was killed and Shuja-ul-Mulk was defeated by Azam Khan and took asylum under Ranjit Singh.

Sher Muhammad Khan Mukhtar-ud-Dowlah left Kashmir after a sojourn of five months, appointing his son[15] Ata Muhammad Khan as his *Naib*. The year of his installation is obtained from the chronogram, فضل رحمانی 1221 A.H. (1806 A.D.).

15 Lt. Newall writes that this governor was the son of the late governor Abdullah Khan (*J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, p. 452) while on page 450 he calls him brother of the same person. Evidently it is due to some inadvertence.

His excellent regime is like an oasis in the arid desert of the Afghan sovereignty of Kashmir. The people prospered under him, and considerable advancement took place all-round. In one year during his regime one crore of rupees accrued to the treasury owing to revival of trade. The revenue from other sources also doubled. Many persons came by hidden treasures and they were allowed to avail themselves of their finds. He decided all suits in person and allocated the share of each successor in case of disputed succession. In public and private life he observed simplicity, and showed due deference to men of learning and piety.

In 1810, however, he declared his independence. Akram Khan, his successor-designate and Afzal Khan were despatched by Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk to divest him of his authority and to reduce him to submission; they were severely defeated at Shahdara and Ata Muhammad returned to his capital in triumph. He now built fortifications at Sopur and Baramula, constructed a strong fort on the summit of Koh-i-Maran and several smaller forts in other localities. He also laid stores of ammunition against future emergency. Through Diwan Nand Ram and his own brother Jahandad Khan he invited Shuja-ul-Mulk from Talanbih where he was a guest of Ranjit Singh. Shuja came to Kashmir with Hasan Khan and Mulla Hidayat-ullah. Ata Muhammad imprisoned the ex-king in the Koh-i-Maran fort and despatched Jahandad Khan to take possession of the Attock fort.

Now we hear of Ranjit Singh as interesting himself in the politics of Kashmir. In 1813, *Wazir* Fateh Muhammad Khan advanced upon Kashmir, but finding himself unable to accomplish the conquest he sought help from Ranjit Singh, stipulating to pay him eight lakh of rupees annually in return for this service. Ranjit Singh placed ten thousand soldiers under Mohkam Chand at his disposal. The joint armies advanced by way of Hirapur. Ata Muhammad also arrived at Balapura to offer battle. Some of his chiefs, however, deserted together with fifty or sixty soldiers. Consequently he fell back upon the capital and set up Shuja-ul-Mulk on the throne. The *Wazir* advanced as far Chhatah Bal, about four miles from Srinagar. At last peace *pourparlers* were opened. Ata Muhammad secretly

promised Mohkam Chand to surrender the fort of Attock, while Shuja-ul-Mulk promised the Koh-i-Nur diamond for release from the clutches of the *Wazir*. Mohkam Chand withdrew his forces to the unspeakable chagrin of his ally. After a formal visit to the *Wazir* and an exchange of gifts, Ata Muhammad Khan was allowed to proceed to Peshawar with all his property unmolested. On his reaching that place he handed over the fort of Attock to Ranjit Singh, receiving a lakh of rupees in return.

Wazir Fateh Khan next ruled Kashmir for three months after which he left his brother Sardar Azim Khan in his place and returned to Kabul whence he led a huge army to dispute the possession of Attock, but returned defeated.

In 1813, Sardar Muhammad Azim Khan assumed his charge of governorship. He allowed Pandit Sahaj Ram to continue in the post of Diwan and at the same time appointed Diwan Hira Das as *Sahib-i-Kar*.

In 1814, Ranjit Singh attacked Kashmir to realize the second instalment of eight lakh of rupees which had been promised him by *Wazir* Fateh Khan. Ranjit Singh himself stayed at Poonch, while his army reached the village Sado by unfrequented paths. Another detachment reached Rahiyar by way of Tosha Maidan. Azim Khan proved himself equal to the occasion and confronted the two armies. The Sikhs were considerably hampered by rain and cold. On receiving information that his Hirapur army perished to the last man, Ranjit Singh returned to Rajauri, Abdullah Khan pursued him to the Kotli pass, and returned with much booty which included Ranjit Singh's favourite black horse. Ranjit Singh's departure unnerved the Sikh army which retreated after fighting for eight days.

After this victory Azim Khan persecuted the Hindus, particularly the Brahmans, whom he considered solely responsible for inducing Ranjit Singh to undertake the invasion of Kashmir. Many Muhammadans also suffered with the Hindus, both losing their estates which were afterwards restituted. The native soldiery was also dismissed by him. In addition to these hardships, the inhabitants of Kashmir suffered from a very severe famine which claimed a heavy toll of human lives.

Shuja-ul-Mulk, having freed himself from the grip of *Wazir*

Fateh Khan, found that he had to settle his account with Ranjit Singh also who snatched the Koh-i-Nur diamond and other precious stones from him. Afterwards he betook himself to British territory and resided at Ludhiana whence he proceeded to Kashtwar and made an abortive attempt or two to conquer Kashmir. At last, obtaining help from Lord Auckland he recaptured Kabul and Qandhar, but passed away after a brief sway of two years.

Azim Khan had entrusted the task of collecting the revenue to three Pandits, namely, Birbal Dar, Mirza Pandit, and Sukh Ram. The first named had an amount of one lakh outstanding against him, and when called upon to pay it he addressed Azim Khan impertinently but the latter granted him a respite to pay the arrears on Pandit Mirza offering himself as surety. Pandit Birbal Dar utilised the respite in fleeing from the country. Wasa Kak, the director of communications, conducted his wife to a place of safety while the Malaks of Ghori conducted him safely out of Kashmir. The influence of Raja Dhiyan Singh the brother of Gulab Singh procured him an easy admittance to Ranjit Singh's court. It is needless to mention that Azim Khan treated harshly and cruelly all those concerned in Birbal Dar's flight. It is, indeed, very strange that Birbal Dar was betrayed by no other person than his own son-in-law, Tilok Chand. The lady, however, put an end to her life by swallowing a piece of diamond on her way to Srinagar.

Prince Kamran having caused *Wazir* Fateh Khan's eyes to be put out, the latter sent for Azim Khan from Kashmir to assist him in carrying out his ministerial duties. Azim Khan sent all his property with Sahaj Ram to Kabul, and handing over the governorship to his brother Jabbar Khan started for Kabul in 1819 A.D.

Jabbar Khan was the last of the Afghan governors, all of whom, with few exceptions, displayed a strange propensity towards persecution and high-handedness which finally put an end to their rule. Contrary to his predecessors, Jabbar Khan was extremely mild and just.

It has already been stated how Pandit Birbal Dar had gained admittance to Ranjit Singh's court. When the Pandit heard of Azim Khan's departure to Kabul he urged Ranjit Singh attack

Kashmir who, however, remembering his previous failure dreaded the suggested step. At last when Birbal Dar held himself responsible for all consequent loss in case of failure and also surrendered his son as hostage, the 'Lion of the Punjab' agreed to follow his advice.

A huge army of thirty thousand Sikhs led by approved and tried generals like Sardars Hari Singh Nalwa, Jawala Singh, Hukum Singh, Raja Gulab Singh and Diwan Misar Chand attacked Kashmir. It was led to Tehna and a body was also conducted by way of Darahal. Jabbar Khan arrived with his army at Hirapur and also sent a detachment to Pir Punjal (Panstal) to guard the road. Owing to superiority of numbers on the Sikh side, Jabbar Khan's soldiers lost heart, while their leader himself fought desperately and received a wound from a soldier of Firoz Jung. This so unnerved him that he returned to the city and taking his precious property with him started for Kabul by way of Baramula, thus leaving the Sikhs in complete possession of Kashmir. But strange to say Ranjit Singh himself did not enter Kashmir on account of a superstitious dread.

The date of the Sikh conquest of Kashmir is contained in their war cry, the letters of which correspond the Bikrami year 1876:

بولو جی واہ گرو جی کا خالصہ   بولو جی واہ گرو جی کی فتح

7

Advancement of Learning Under Muslim Rule

Islam inaugurated a reign of intellectual liberty, for the strong injunction of the Prophet that 'the aquisition of knowledge is incumbent on every Muslim'[1] created a universal desire among his followers for the same and within his lifetime was formed the uncleus[2] of an educational institution, which, in after years, grew into Universities at Baghdad and Salerno, at Cairo and Cordova. It was, however, in the second century that this literary and scientific activity of the Muslims commenced in earnest, and Baghdad in this connection shines out as a beaconlight to the whole of Asia for the diffusion of learning. Under the Ommeyyads, says Amir Ali,[3] Muslims were passing through a period of probation, preparing themselves for the great task they were called upon to undertake. Under the Abbassides they became the repositories of the knowledge of the world. Various parts of the globe were ransacked by the agents of the Caliphs for "the hoarded wealth of antiquity which was brought to the capital and laid before an admiring and appreciating public".

1 Another tradition is: He who goes out in search of knowledge is working in the way of God, till he returns (from his search).

2 *Amir Ali, The Spirit of Islam*, p. 362.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 371.

Schools and academies sprang up in every direction; public libraries were established in every city free to every comer; the great philosophers of the ancient world were studied side by side with the Quran.

When, however, the light at Baghdad began to grow dim, Ghazni offered its hospitality to scholars and litterateurs who shed a glorious lustre on the brilliant reign of Mahmud and his successors under whom learning and the arts flourished abundantly. The munificent patronage of learning under the Seljuks rivalled the days of the Abbassides. But the barbarous campaign of the Mongols put an end, for a time, to the intellectual development of Asia, which had to wait till a large number of these Mongols had adopted the reilgion of the Prophet of Arabia. The change of religion changed their outlook on life. "From destroyers of seats of learning and arts they became the founders of academies and the protectors of the learned." Timur, despite his ferocity, was a patron of science and poetry, and was fond of the society of scholars and artists of his day. He was an author as well as a legislator, and the *Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, says Amir Ali, bears witness to his capacity as such. Samarqand was resplendent with the glories of the arts and sciences then known to the civilized world. Kashmir drank at this fountain and thereafter acquired fame as a home of Islamic learning in the days of Sultan Sikandar and his successors.

Learning and Men of Learning in Kashmir

We shall begin with the reign of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din (1359-79 A.D.) as our researches do not help us much before this period.[4] At the instance of Shah Hamadan, Sultan Shihab-ud-Din established the first Madrasa-tul-Quran. Abdul Mashaikh

4 The information as given under this section has been collected from (1) *Asrar-ul-Abrar* by Baba Daud Mishkawti, (2) *Maqamat-i-Mahmudiya* by Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Naqshbandi, (3) *Tazkirat-ul-Ulema* by Muhammad Ali Khan Matin, (4) *Bayan-i-Waqa*—a note on the Jami' Masjid, (5) *Tahqiqat-i-Amiri* by Khwaja Amir-ud-Din Pakhliwal, (6) *Tarikh-i-Azami*, and (7) *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, and from personal enquiries in Kashmir.

Sheikh Sulaiman who was originally a Hindu received his education in this school after his conversion and in course of time distinguished himself as an exponent of the Quran and was given the title of Imam-ul-Qurra, the Imam of Qaris. Madrassas for the teaching of the Quran and Hadis were established in all important villages, also at the instance of Shah Hamadan. Sultan Qutb-ud-Din built a college and named it after himself in his headquarters at Qutbuddinpura. Pir Haji Muhammad Qari was the head of the institution and the school continued its existence till the establishment of Sikh rule in the valley, when it closed for want of patronage. It had a long roll of distinguished professors and scholars. Mulla Jauhar 'Nath' was the head of this institution during the reign of Jahangir. Mulla Mohsin *Fani*, the eminent philosopher-poet and Mulla Abdus Sattar Mufti taught their pupils here. Sheikh Rahmatulla Tarabali, Mulla Tahir *Ghani* Ashai the poet, Muhammad Zaman Nafe, the historian and the younger brother of *Ghani*, Khwaja Qasim Tirmizi and Mulla Muhammad Kaosa are some of its distinguished alumni. The locality of the school is known as *Langarhatta* signifying that the Sultan had set up a 'langar' or boarding-house for teachers and pupils. Qutb-ud-Din thus laid the foundation of a residential system of education in Kashmir which provided for free association of the teachers and the taught after formal hours of instruction, and thus led the way for Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin in after years to establish his University of Naushehra. Soibugu, Khoihama (now in Tehsil Partabsinghpur) and one more village were assigned for its maintenance.

We have already stated elsewhere that Sikandar (1393-1417 A.D.) was an exceedingly generous man and, in the words of Rodgers, "his liberal patronage of letters attracted learned men from Iraq and Khorasan and Mavara-un-Nahr to his court in such numbers that it became an example to the courts of other provinces." Near his Jami' Masjid he built a college which was known as the college of the Jami' Masjid. Attached to this college was a hostel. For the expenses of the college and the hostel the *pargana* of Nagam was declared a 'waqf'. Qazi Mir Muhammad Ali, a descendant of Chingez Khan was appointed Principal of the college on account of his erudition. Mulla Muhammad Afzal Bokhari (Hadis), Mulla Muhammad Yusuf

(Philosophy), and Mulla Sadr-ud-Din Khashi (Mathematics) were some of the noted lecturers. Syed Husain Mantiqi, the well-known logician, taught logic and metaphysics.

Now we come to the glorious period of Zain-ul-Abidin (1422-74 A.D.). His Dar-ul-Ulum or the University at Naushehra was a grand monument of his love of learning. The buildings were set up near the royal palace and the University flourished under the rectorship of the eminent scholar and savant, Mulla Kabir Nahvi (the author of a commentary on Sharh-i-Mulla), who was Sheikh-ul-Islam, and well-known for his erudition, learning and piety. The great Mulla was assisted by an army of professors and lecturers attracted from different parts of the world. Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri, Mulla Hafiz Baghdadi, Mulla Parsa Bokhari, Mulla Jamal-ud-Din Khawrazmi who subsequently became Chief Justice, and Mir Ali Bokhari and Mulla Yusuf Rashidi were among the more noted teachers. The revenues of several villages were assigned to meet the expenses of the University. A Translation Bureau was established under the auspices of the University. It was here that books were translated from Arabic and Sanskrit into Persian and Kashmiri. The *Mahabharata* was ordered to be translated. *Rajatarangini* was brought up to date by Jonaraja and a history of Kashmir was compiled in Persian. The Sultan's patronage of learning was not confined to Muhammadans alone. Hindu scholars were also generously rewarded for their eminence in letters and science. Soma held a high place in the Bureau and was the head of what may be called the department of education and wrote a life of the Sultan entitled *Zaina Charit*. Bodi Bat had mastered the whole of *Shah Nama* which he recited to the delight of the Sultan. According to Hargopal Koul (vide his *Guldasta*, p. 116) the Sultan was called "not only Bud Shah but But Shah on account of his patronage of the Pandits".

Zain-ul-Abidin spent huge sums on the collection of a library for his University. He sent out agents to different parts of the world to secure books and manuscripts for his library which is said to have vied with the leading libraries of the time in Central Asia and Persia and existed for about a century till the days of Sultan Fateh Shah.

The Sultan gave six lakhs of rupees for the Madrasa-tul-

Ulum at Sialkot (vide *Moid-ul-Fuzala* of Muhammad Ali Sherwani). The queen of Zain-ul-Abidin on one occasion gave away to the Sultan even her most valuable necklace for the promotion of learning.

In Zainagir the Sultan established a college between his palace and the royal garden. This also served as a centre for the diffusion of learning in the valley. A big Madrassa was also established at Sir, in Dachhanpura, near Islamdabad. Mulla Ghazi Khan was the head of the Madrassa.

Sultan Husain Shah also founded a great college and sought the company of the pious and the learned. He gave Zainapur as a *jagir* for the college which was known as Dar-u-Shifa and was constructed in the northern corner of Koh-i-Maran near Khanqah-i-Kubravi. It is stated that this college was established at the instance of the Sultan's Pir, Baba Ismail, who was the great grandson of Abul Mashaikh Sheikh Sulaiman of whom we have spoken in connection with Shah Hamadan's Madrasa-tul-Quran. A library was also built and a free hostel attached to the college. Wandhama, Haran, Darind and Birhama villages and the gardens of Daulatabad, Rainawari, and Bagh-i-Anguri (modern Malkha) were set apart for the maintenance of the hostel and the college in addition to Zainapur. The college was run by Sheikh Fatehullah Haqqani assisted by Akhund Mulla Darvesh. Sheikh Hamza Makhdumi, a well-khown saint of Kashmir, was a student of this college.

Darasgah-i-Mulla Haidar was established in the reign of Jahangir by Mulla Haidar Allama in Mohallah Gojwara near the Poets' Gardens (Baghat-i-Shair Wari) and turned out a large number of scholars.

Khwaja Khawand Mahmud Naqshbandi founded the Madra-ssa-i-Khwajagan-i-Naqshband in the reign of Shah Jahan in Khwaja Bazaar near Khanqah Faiz Panah. Mulla Haqdad of Badakhshan was the head of the Madrassa.

Prince Dara Shikoh will be remembered for having established the residential 'School of Sufiism' (for کسماه) at the instance of his spiritual tutor Akhund Mulla Muhammad Shah Badakhshani on a spur of the Zebanwan mountain higher

up the Chashma-i-Shahi. The building is now in ruins and is called Pari Mahal (the Fairies' Palace).

Madrassa-i-Syed Mansur came into existence in 1125 A.H. (1713 A.D.) under the patronage of Nawab Inayat Khan, Nazim of Kashmir. Akhund Mulla Sulaiman Kallu was appointed to the headship of the Madrassa, and the village of Wangam was assigned for its up-keep. Madrassa-i-Mulla Kamal and Mulla Jamal turned out men like Sheikh Ismail Chishti, Baba Nasib-ud-Din Ghazi, and Qazi Abul Qasim.

There is ample testimony to the Kashmiris' love of books in numerous private collections which have unfortunately been gradually sold out from the valley and have found their way to Europe and America.

It was in Kashmir that Mirza Haidar Doghlat wrote his *Tarikh-i-Rashidi* and it was in Srinagar (*vide* Rieu's *Catalogue* of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. II, p. 479) in 1005 A.H. (1596 A.D.) that Akbar asked Jamal-ud-Din Husain Inju to compile the Persian lexicon afterwards known as 'Farhang-i-Jahangiri'. Jamal-ud-Din took twelve years to complete the work and finished it in 1017 A.H. in the reign of Jahangir after whom it was named. It was revised by the author towards the end of his life. It is stated in the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (p. 339) that Jamal-ud-Din presented a copy of the lexicon to Jahangir in the 18th year of his reign (1032 A.H.).

Abu Talib *Kalim* (born in 1028 A.H. 1618 A.D. and died on 15th Zilhajj 1061 A.H. 1650 A.D.) who was the poet-laureate of Shah Jahan, under the orders of that Emperor was engaged in versifying the *Badshah Nama* in Kashmir when he died suddenly and was buried there not far from the tomb of Muhammad Quli Salim who died in 1057 A.H. (1647 A.D.) and who was another well-known poet of the reign of Shah Jahan.

Supported by the bounty of Zeb-un-Nisa, Mulla Safi-ud-Din Ardbeli lived in comfort in Kashmir and translated the gigantic Arabic *Tafsir-Kabir* (Great Commentary) into Persian and named it after his patroness, *Zeb-ut-Tafasir*.

There was a stone slab describing very briefly in *Tughra* script the promotion of learning from the days of Zain-ul-Abidin and was put up near Fateh Kadal (close to the spot where Tan Sain

is said to have lived during his stay in Kashmir). This slab has unfortunately been taken away.

We shall now say something about some noted men of learning.

Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi was not only the most learned of his contemporaries in Kashmir but one of the most learned men of his age, a man of international reputation for his learning, scholarship and piety.

Sheikh Yaqub was the son of Sheikh Hasan Ganai of the Asmi clan. Hasan, a historian of Kashmir, says that the reported date of Sheikh Yaqub's birth is 928 A.H. (1521 A.D.). Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni and the local historians of Kashmir agree to the date of his death which is 1003 A.H. (1594 A.D.); it appears, therefore, that the Sheikh lived up to the age of 73, though some say 75. He assumed as a poet the *nom de plume* of *Sarfi*. While a child of seven, Yaqub committed the whole of the Quran to memory. He studied under Mulla Ani (the pupil of the great Mulla Jami) who prophesied that Yaqub would, in course of time, rise to the literary eminence of a second Jami. Mulla Basir was his next teacher. Thereafter he set out for his education abroad and according to Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni (*vide* Sir T. Wolseley Haig's English Translation published by the Bengal Asiatic Society) became the spiritual successor of Sheikh Husain of Khawrazmi—the pupil of Haji Muhammad Azam who died in Syria in 956 or 958 A.H.—and acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage to the two holy places of Islam. He received at Mecca from the renowned Sheikh Ibn Hajar Makki, the great teacher of Hadis, a licence to give instruction in the Traditions of the Prophet; he was well versed in the writings of Ibn-al-Arabi; clad in the robes of Sheikhs of Arabia and Persia he profited greatly by his intercourse with them. He received authority to assume the prerogatives of a religious teacher and spiritual guide and as such he had many disciples, both in Hindustan and Kashmir. He had the benefit of intercourse with well-known saint, Sheikh Salim Chishti. Sheikh Yaqub was the superior of an hospice. He wrote some sublime and beautiful works and completed a *Khamsah* or a series of five *masnavis* in imitation of the *Khamsah* of Jami, his teacher's teacher. He was the author of many treatises on the art of composing enigmas and also of

quatrains on the mysticism of the Sufis with a commentary. His works indeed are too numerous to be recapitulated. Badayuni says that "he was illustrious and relied upon as an authority in all branches of learning which are treated of in Arabic such as Quranic commentaries, the Traditions of the Prophet and Sufiism, and he was an authorised religious leader." In another place (*vide Ain*, Vol. I, p. 182) he is considered "the greatest authority in religious matters". Not long before his death, he was writing a commentary which was, in the words of Badayuni, "one of the most wonderful productions of his perfect genius". Badayuni further adds that both Humayun and Akbar had a wonderful belief in him and conferred distinction on him by admitting him to the honour of their society, regarding him with gracious favour, so that he was held in high esteem and much honoured. He was generous and open-handed beyond anything that could be imagined of his contemporaries.

Sheikh Yaqub was a poet also and his *takhallus* was Sarfi which in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (Vol. I, 581 and n2) is given as Sairafi which is incorrect. Abul Fazl says (*Ain*, Vol I, p. 581) that he was well-acquainted with all branches of poetry and Badayuni writes that his "genius was highly adapted to the composition of eloquent poetry". The following couplets are by him :

در هرچه بینم آن رخ نیکوست جلوه‌گر
درصد هزار آئینه یکروست جلوه‌گر

خلقی بهر طرف شده سرگشته بهر دوست
وین طرفه ترکه دوست بهرسوست جلوه‌گر

مشکن ای غم دل ما را وببین کان دل کیست
دل ما هست ولی بین که درو منزل کیست
گر بگوئیش گذری، پائی ز سر باید کرد
قصه کوتا ز سر خویش گذر باید کرد

"I see that Comely Face manifest in whatever I regard;
Though I look at a hundred thousand mirrors, in all that One Face is manifest.

On all sides people are wandering in search of the Beloved
And the strange thing is that the Beloved is manifest on every side.

Break not my heart Oh grief and regard not whose that heart may be;
The heart is indeed mine but consider who dwelleth there.
Shouldst thou pass through his street, thou shouldst walk on thy head* (that is with thy head downward, the ground being far too sacred for thy foot).
To be brief, thou shouldst at once forsake all thought of self."

The enigma on the name Shaida is also by the Sheikh :

ماه من بر رخ نقاب انداخته   وه که عمداً روز را شب ساخته

"My moon has cast the veil on her face,
See, alas, she hath of set purpose turned day into night."

When the Sheikh obtained permission to depart from Lahore for Kashmir, he wrote a letter from the other side of the river Ravi to Mulla Abdul Qadir which the latter has reproduced in his *History*. In this Sheikh Yaqub writes : "I hope you will not entirely efface the memory of me from the margin of your heart and that you will adopt the graceful habit of remembering the absent. If you should have any need of Kashmir paper for rough notes and drafts I hope that you will inform me of the fact so that I may send you from Kashmir the rough copy of my commentaries the writing of which can be washed from the paper with water so completely that no trace of ink will remain, as you yourself have seen. . . ."

The Sheikh on reaching Kashmir sent another letter to Badayuni which was the last that he wrote to him. The Sheikh wrote : " I hope that whenever you sit in Nawab Faiyzi's apartment of fragrant grass (khaskhana) on the floor with its matting cooler than the breezes of Kashmir in the midday heat

*I am afraid I must differ from Haig (*vide* p. 201) when he translates the first hemistich as follows : If thou sayest to him "It behoves that thy foot pass over my head . . . . ." This is probably due to difference in the text. The correct words are بگوئیش and not بگویش.

of summer, drinking the water which, though originally warm, has been cooled with ice, and listening to sublime talk and witty conversation, you will think of me, the captive of the hardships of disappointment :

اے بہ بزم وصل حاضر غائباں را دستگیر
زانکہ دست حاضر از غائباں کوتاہ نیست

" O thou, who art present at the cheerful assembly of union, extend a helping hand to the absent.

" For the hand of those who thus meet is never withheld from the absent.

" I have lost the rough copy of the verses which I wrote in the new Asaf Khani style, explaining what had not previously been clearly expressed. It is possible that you, my honoured friend, may have taken a copy from my rough draft and, if so, I pray you to send me a copy of your copy."

While Sheikh Yaqub was in India, Sheikh Ahmad Sarhindi (the well-known Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani) used to receive instruction from him in Hadis and Sufiism.

Sheikh Yaqub died on the 18th Ziq'addh in the year 1003 A.H. in Srinagar and was buried in Zainakadal Mohallah. The chronogram شیخ امم بود gives the date of his demise.

The historian, Hasan, has noted the following from among his works in addition to the *Tafsir*. Maslak-ul-Akhyar, Vamiq-o-Azra, Laila Majnun, Maghazi-un-Nabi, Maqamat-i-Murshid (these form his *Khamsah*), a Diwan, Qasaid and Ghazals, Manasik-i-Haj, Sharh (commentary) of Sahih Bukhari, etc.

Pre-eminent as was the Sheikh's position in the realm of letters, his place in the politics of Kashmir was of no inconsiderable importance. On his return from his extensive travels over the Islamic world, Sheikh Yaqub was mortified to find Kashmir cut up into pieces on account of internecine quarrels, he therefore, in company with Baba Daud Khaki, left for Hindustan and took the most indiscreet step of inviting Akbar to put a stop to those troubles. The result was the transfer of Kashmir to Mughal rule.

One of the most learned and erudite philosopher-poets of the

eleventh century Hijri was Mulla Muhammad Mohsin Fani. Of a scholar of his eminence Kashmir may well be proud. The actual date of his birth is not traceable from the records before the writer but as his death is chronicled in 1082 A.H. (1671 A.D.) so putting together the numerical figures obtainable from

رفت فانی به عالم باقی which is curiously enough Fani's own

composition, he might have been born some time in the earlier part of the eleventh century Hijri or the seventeenth century of the Christian era. His relationship to another notable figure of Kashmir, Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi, a scholar and a saint, of whom we have already spoken, shows that he was descended from a family which enjoyed a reputation for high culture and great learning. His father's name was Sheikh Hasan who was the son of Mir Muhammad.

After completing his studies at home in which he distinguished himself in a comparatively short period, Mulla Mohsin went out to complete his education in a world wider than Kashmir and visited many places and lived in various climes and freely mixed with all sorts of people professing different creeds. At last he reached Balkh and entered the service of its Vali, Nazr Muhammad Khan. Here it was that he wrote a number of panegyrics in the latter's praise and, after having stayed away for some time, returned to India where his talents attracted the notice of prince Dara Shikoh who recognised them in a suitable way. He was subsequently appointed to the office of *Sadarat* at Allahabad. Here he became a disciple of Sheikh Mohibullah a great saint of his time. But the conquest of Balkh by prince Murad eclipsed the shining star of Mulla Mohsin's fortunes. In the ex-Vali's library, verses were found which had been written in praise of the vanquished foe, the former patron of Fani and probably some correspondence too. This disclosure resulted in the strong displeasure of Shah Jahan. Fani was consequently deprived of his office and of all his privileges and was dismissed from the court with a paltry sum as his subsistence allowance. Mulla Mohsin then retired to Kashmir were he passed his days ostensibly without any public employment, but engaged himself in fostering and imparting learning. And it is said he was happy and respected and his house was frequented by the most distin-

guished men of Kashmir and, among the rest, by the governor of the province. He gave lectures at his house, being accustomed to read to his audience the writings to certain authors of eminence on which he delivered moral and philosophical comments. Several scholars of note among whom were Mulla Tahir Ghani, Ghani's brother Mulla Muhammad Zaman Nafe and Haji Aslam Salim issued from his school. According to one account he was again raised to the *Sadarat* of Kashmir but an itinerary impulse overcame him and he repaired to Khorasan whence he came back to his birth-place and took to a life of seclusion in a monastery built by Dara Shikoh. Here he wrote his *Dabistan-ul-Mazahib* or "School of Sects" of which we shall speak later. The Ulema of Kashmir condemned him for it and he was declared *murtad* (apostate).

Gladwin says that, besides the *Dabistan*, Mullah Mohsin has left behind him a collection of poems, among which there is a moral essay entitled *Masdar-ul-Asar* or the 'Source of Signs'. A MS. copy of *Diwan-i-Mohsin Fani* is in the Panjab University Library.

Before we take up the serious question of the authorship of the *Dabistan*, it would be interesting to observe that the mighty Cupid did not spare even Fani or the 'Perishable'. He began to have relations with a woman called Bachi. She was of infamous character though possessed of extraordinary beauty. This occasioned some bitterness between Mulla Mohsin and Zafar Khan Ahsan (the Subah of Kashmir and well-known as the patron of Saib) who himself had fallen a victim to the blandishments and charms of Bachi. But Zafar Khan was disappointed to find Bachi obdurate and finally vented his spleen in a bitter calumny against the Mulla.

Now a word about the *Dabistan* itself. It is a famous work on the religious and philosophical creeds of Asia and consists of twelve main sections, called *Talim*. These are as follows : (i) Parsis, (ii) Hindus, (iii) Qara Tibbatis, (iv) Jews, (v) Christians, (vi) Muslims, (vii) Sadiqis, (viii) Wahidis, (ix) Raushnais, (x) Ilahis, (xi) Philosophers, (xii) Sufis.

"The author has collected in the *Dabistan* various important information concerning religions of different time and countries. His accounts are generally clear, explicit and deserving

confidence; they agree in the most material points with those of other accredited authors. The author of the *Dabistan* enlivens his text by citing interesting quotations from the works of famous poets and philosophers and by frequent references to books which deserve to be known. The whole work is interspersed with anecdotes and sayings characteristic of individuals and sects which existed in his times. To what he relates from other sources, he frequently adds reflections of his own, which evince a sagacious and enlightened mind. Thus he exhibits in himself an interesting example of Asiatic erudition and philosophy. The author most commonly leans to the side of progressive reform." (Introduction to the *Dabistan* translated into English by D. Shea and A. Troyer, Paris, 1843).

Now about the identity of the author, the ball was set rolling by Sir William Jones. He was probably the first publicly to attribute the authorship of the *Dabistan* to Mohsin Fani. In his sixth anniversary discourse before the Bengal Asiatic Society Sir William Jones said : "The rare and interesting tract on twelve different religions entitled the *Dabistan* and composed by a Muhammadan traveller, a native of Kashmir, named Mohsin but distinguished by the assumed surname of Fani or 'Perishable' begins with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of Hushang."

But Captain Vans Kennedy, in his preliminary remarks in his paper on "Notice respecting the religion introduced into India by the Emperor Akbar." said that Sir William Jones was wrong in attributing the authorship to Mohsin. Kennedy was followed by William Erskine, who on the authority of *Gul-i-Ra'na* by Lachhmi Narain who flourished at Hyderabad, Deccan, in the end of 18th or beginning of the 19th century, said that Lachhmi Narain who had written a short notice of Mohsin Fani did not mention the *Dabistan* as a production of Mohsin Fani. I am afraid Erskine's remark comes to this : that since Lachhmi Narain does not mention it, therefore, we should conclude that Mohsin Fani never wrote the *Dabistan* !

Dr. Modi (*vide* "A Glimpse into the work of the B.B.R.A. Society," Bombay 1905, p. 127) says, "The fact is that as Troyer the translator of the *Dabistan* says that the name Mohsin Fani is found in more than one copy of the *Dabistan*

after the usual address to God in the beginning in a passage beginning with the words "Mohsin Fani says,". Dastur Mulla Feroz thought that, that was the name of a writer with a quotation from whom the author began his work. So, that writer, quoted as an authority by the author, has been mistaken for the author himself ! Dr. Modi then himself adds : "Troyer, about 25 years after the discussion, thought that the question was still undecided but we think that Mulla Feroze's explanation approved of by Erskine seems to be correct."

Rieu is another great authority who disbelieves in Fani's authorship of the *Dabistan*. In his monumental British Museum *Catalogue* (published 1879-1883) in the course of his notice of the *Dabistan* he says : "His (the unnamed author's) glowing account of the Sipasis to whom he gives the first and largest place stands in marked contrast to his description of Islamism which is that of a well-informed outsider, not of a born and bred Muslim." In brief, Rieu seems to be of opinion that Mohsin Fani could not be the author of the *Dabistan* and a certain Mobid may have been its probable author. Rieu, however, does not appear to be quite definite on the subject.

Ethe, in his India Office *Catalogue* (published in 1903), has merely followed Rieu. But E. Blochet who published his *Catalogue* of the Library at Paris in 1905 puts down Mohsin Fani as the author of the *Dabistan* but considers him to have belonged to the Sipasi sect and further adds that the author was instructed by a disciple of the celebrated Azar Kaivan, named Mobid Hoshiyar. But Blochet is unfortunately wrong in thinking that Mohsin Fani was born at Patna (*vide* his *Catalogue*, pp. 241-42, Premier Tome).

To revert to Rieu's remarks, apparently the tone of the *Dabistan* shows that the author was not a born and bred Muslim. But Rieu seems to forget that a renegade is very often the most relentless critic of his old faith. Still Fani, if it is Fani, cannot completely suppress himself. Does not the author of the *Dabistan* invoke heavenly blessings for ، خلفائے راشدین وحضرات ائمۂ دین ، though obviously he does not refer to the Four Caliphs or the Imams? The fact, however, remains that Mohsin Fani on account of his deep philosophical studies and his extensive travels

and long stay in Balkh and Khorasan—the home of Parsiism—and his freely mixing with men of all sorts of religious denominations and his correspondence with Guru Gobind Singh (referred to by Cunningham in his *History of the Sikhs*, Garrett's edition, p. 47 *n*3) and, above all, his free thinking, did incur the wrath of the Ulema of his age and was consequently declared 'murtad' (apostate). This was an age when the efforts of Akbar, Abul Fazl, Faizi and, then of Dara Shikoh, produced a tendency towards free-thinking. It was encouraged and it paid. It was, however, under the influence of Hazrat Mian Muhammad Amin Dar that Mohsin Fani is said to have 'repented of his sin'. Most of the historians of Kashmir including Khwaja Azam[5] and Hasan[6] have noted this. I shall quote relevant extract from

5 Khwaja Muhammad Azam, the author of *Tarikh-i-Kashmir Azami*, whose death is recorded to have taken place on 10th Muharram 1179 A.H. (1765 A.D.) about four years after the defeat of Marattas by Ahmad Shah Abdali at the battle-field of Panipat and one year after the battle of Buxar when Shah Alam accepted English protection, was considered a scholar and saint of his day. He is the author of several works but is chiefly known as a historian who flourished in Kashmir under the later Mughals. Hassan says that Khwaja Azam was also a poet and counts the following among his works: (1) *Faiz-i-Murad*, a treatise giving an account of the life of his *murshid* (spiritual guide) Sheikh Murad, (2) *Fawaid-ur-Raza*, an account of Sheikh Ali Raza, (3) *Firaq Nama*, an elegy on Khalifa Obaidulla, (4) *Qawaid-ul-Mashaikh*, (5) *Tajrubat-ul-Talibin*, (6) *Ashjar-ul-Khuld*, (7) *Samaratul Ashjar*, (8) *Sharah-i-Kibrit-i-Ahmar* and Qasaids and Odes. Khwaja Azam who died of kindney trouble lies buried in Didamar, a large quarter of Srinagar forming the western end of the city on the right river-bank built by Queen Didda for the accommodation of travellers from various parts of India. His father's name was Khwaja Khair-uz-Zaman. Khwaja Azam's history is entitled *Waqeat-i-Kashmir* and has been published, but the MS. copy at the Panjab University Library and the one I was shown at Srinagar September last, are more bulky and contain more information than the printed copy. Popularly the history is known as *Tarikh-i-Azami* and is written in the old style.

6 Maulvi Hassan Shah, the author of three ponderous tomes on the history of Kashmir was born in a village near Bandapur in Kashmir in 1248 A.H. (1832 A.D.) and died there in 1316 A.H. (1898 A.D.) at the age of 66 years. He came of a family of *pirs* distinguished for their learning. His sixth ancestor Sheikh Yaqub was a scholar of great

Tarikh-i-Hasan (MS. folio 250, Khanqah-i-Moalla, Srinagar, Kashmir). Before we peruse the extracts, we must remember that it was Kashmir's close contact with Tibet that probably led Mohsin to include the creed of the Tibetans in his *Dabistan*

ملا محسن فانی .... بعد تحصیل کمالات علوم عقلی ونقلی اطراف واکناف

هندوستان را سیاحت نمود ونیک وبد زمانه بسیار آزمود وباهرملت آشنائی

کرده تحقیقات حالات مذاهب وملل بخوبی ساخته کتاب دبستان مذاهب

تصنیف فرمود .... می آرند که در اوائل بمذهب آزاد بود وباهرملت

صلح کل میداشت ومذهب حکمارا وثوق میداد اما درآخر عمر به خدمت

حضرت میان محمد امین دار مشرف شده ودست انابت بدامن عاطفت ایشان

زده از خیالات باطل درگذشت وعقیدۂ کامل بهم رسانید وبه علوم معنوی و

renown and was consequently taken to court of Shah Jahan. Hasan's father Maulvi Ghulam Rasul was a poet and the author of four books. Hasan studied under his father and subsequently acquired a knowledge of *Tib-i-Unani*, which he practised till the close of his life. Maharaja Ranbir Singh conferred a *khil'at* of honour on Hasan for a pamphlet on the terrible famine of 1875-78 in which he made certain sensible suggestions for improving the situation. Hasan's three books entitled (1) *Gulistan-i-Akhlaq* (2) *Kharit-a-Asrar* (3) *Ijaz-a-i-Ghariba* in Persian mixed with Kashmiri are greatly admired by the public. Sir Walter Lawrence, when Settlement Commissioner of the Kashmir State was supplied by Hasan with much historical information and was also taught the Kashmiri language by him. Sir Walter, in his *Valley of Kashmir* (p. 454) expresses his indebtedness to Hasan Shah as follows: "What else (of the Kashmiri language) I have learnt I owe to Pir Hasan Shah, a learned Kashmiri, whose work has entirely been among the villagers." When Sir Walter became Private Secretary to the Viceroy he invited Hasan, through the British Resident in Kashmir, to be presented to the Viceroy but the invitation was late as Hasan had died a few days before. His three volumes on the history of Kashmir which he wrote with his own hand are preserved at the Khanqah-i-Moalla Srinagar and are a mine of information for student of Kashmirian history. Hasan has evidently taken great pains in his work and it is a great pity that this history is still unpublished. (My note is chiefly based on Pandit Anand Koul's, *vide J A S.B*, Volume XI, No. 5, 1913.)

تعلیم وتلقین آں جناب بہرہ مند گشت۔ آنگاں تا حین حیات در گریہ و زاری وتوبہ و استغفار اوقات بسر میبرد ۔

This is sufficient testimony and we should, therefore, consider this controversy at an end.

Allama Abdul Hakim of Sialkot* deserves special notice among the celebrities of Kashmir learning. Fragments of his life are found here and there in diverse histories of the period. He was born during Akbar's reign at Sialkot, where he was brought up and eventually died. His father's name is given as Sheikh Shams-ud-Din in *Rauzat-ul-Udaba*, "Sheikh" being added out of respect or probably because of recent conversion to Islam. It appears that he belonged to no great and remarkable family and his parents were poor and obscure, hence no writer appears to have attempted to find out his date of birth. Everyone contents himself with the remark that the Allama had a long life, enough to see the three reigns of Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan. His date of birth, therefore, has to be ascertained from other sources and to be based on the conclusions drawn from references to contemporaneous events of his age and to those the dates of which are well-known. The great Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani of Sirhind was his class-fellow and the former's age according to *Salik-us-Salikin* was 17 when he had finally completed his studies. His companion, the Allama, therefore, would, in all probability, be either of the same age or a few, say 3 or 4 years, older than he. The latter view seems to be the more likely as the Mujaddid used to respect him. The Mujaddid was born in the year 971 A.H. in the time of Akbar and supposing Maulana Abdul Hakim to be approximately four years older, the latter might have been born in 968 A.H. when Akbar had been on the throne for about 6 years only.

Maulana Abdul Hakim was the pupil of Maulana Kamal-ud-Din Kashmiri, a versatile scholar of note, who left his native-place, Kashmir, for Sialkot where Raja Man Singh was ruling at the time. So esteemed was Maulana Kamal-ud-Din's personality that the Kardar of the Raja accorded him a good recep-

***Malik-ul-Ulama Allama Abdul Hakim Sialkoti* by Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq, Editor, *The Kashmiri*, Lahore, with a foreword by Sir Muhammad Iqbal, Kt., M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, 1924.

tion and treated him with great respect while all people, particularly his countrymen, hailed his arrival there with joy and acclamation. At Sialkot he began to impart instruction in the mosque of Mian Waris and his pupils Allama Abdul Hakim and Nawab Saad Ullah Khan afterwards the prime minister of Shah Jahan and Sheikh Ahmad Sirhindi (or Mujaddid Alf-i-Sani) shone out in the world and immortalized the memory of their great teacher.

Allama Abdul Hakim acquired such reputation for his learning in logic, jurisprudence, tradition and exegesis that his name went far beyond India and was familiar in Bokhara, the Hedjaz and as far as Constantinople, Egypt and Morocco.

It is related that once one of his pupils brought him some pages from the writings of Hazrat Mujaddid, which treated of the "Realities and Gnosis". Their reading fostered in the mind of the Maulana a great spiritual love towards the person of the Mujaddid. A few days after, it is said the Maulana saw the Mujaddid in a dream reading unto him the Quranic verse قل الله ثم ذرهم فى خوضهم يلعبون (Say, Allah is sufficient, then leave them indulging in their vain discourses). When the Maulana woke up, he is said to have found his heart full of divine light and his whole body was affected by this particular state of mind which ultimately compelled the Maulana to resolve to visit Sirhind. Accordingly about 1023 or 1024 A.H., just 30 years after their fellow-studentship, the Maulana again met the Mujaddid with whom he stayed for long at Sirhind and conversed on secular and spiritual sciences. In the course of one of these meetings, the Maulana made a *baiat* (acknowledgment of spiritual leadership) at the hands of the Mujaddid and wrote a treatise 'Dalail-ul-Tajdid' (Arguments for the Revival) in support of the renaissance or revival of spirituality after 1000 years, in which cogent arguments are advanced in support of the theme put forward by the Mujaddid. On returning from Sirhind, the Mujaddid gave him the title of 'Aftab-i-Punjab' (the Sun of the Punjab).

As already remarked, the life of the Maulana and its events spread over a long period of the reigns of the three Mughal Emperors. The fame of the Maulana's erudition and scholarship had extended beyond the cloisters of the royal Madrassa at Lahore where hundreds of students acquired education at his

hands. It appears that he stayed for long at Lahore and consequently became known as Fazl-i-Lahori (the learned man of Lahore).

When Jahangir ascended the throne, he bestowed a considerable *jagir* on the Maulana for his maintenance and through special royal favours the Maulana became quite a well-to-do person. Divines and doctors of Islamic learning in India consulted him for 'Fatawa' (rulings) on points of religious law. He is mentioned as one of the 16 leading Muslim Doctors of Law of the reign of Jahangir. His meeting with Hazarat Mian Mir is also mentioned in 'Sakinat-ul-Auliya' by Dara Shikoh. One day Jahangir went to pay a visit to Mian Mir, Mulla Abdul Hakim was also present there. Mian Mir while discoursing on the attainment of nearness to God remarked that it was indispensable for one desirous of such attainment that he should lead a life in the jungles retiring from and renouncing the world and its people. Maulana Abdul Hakim very well realized the spiritual dignity of Mian Mir as well as the king's unbounded regard for the latter. In spite of this, he could not help criticising the saint in the very presence of the Emperor Jahangir and with due deference to him pointed out that if all that he (Mian Mir) had said were true it was exactly the preaching of monasticism which Islam categorically forbids.

In the early years of Shah Jahan's rule the Maulana was sent to Agra (Akbarabad) to preside over the royal Madrassa there. The scholar and poet Haji Muhammad Jan *Qudsi* was then on the teaching staff. Gradually the Maulana gained access to the royal court where learned men from Iran, Turan, Arabia and Asia Minor were present but it is stated that Maulvi Abdul Hakim was among those most highly esteemed for their learning. It was the time when his quondam class-fellow, Nawab Saadullah Khan Allami, became Grand *Wazir* that the Maulana was accorded a seat of honour in the row of the learned known as the "Seat of the Learned". The Maulana coached the princes also for some time. Shah Jahan's esteem for him can be estimated from the fact narrated in *Maasir-ul-Kiram* and other books, that twice the Maulana was awarded his weight in silver about one maund and thirty-five seers, and it is said that it amounted to Rs. 6000 each time. In the time of Shah Jahan

the Maulana had a *jagir* of the annual value of one lakh twenty-five thousand rupees, which was continued in his family for some generations but it was resumed under the English. Two of his pupils are mentioned in *Maasir-ul-Kiram* : one is Mulla Abdur Rahim of Sambhal (in the district of Moradabad) who rose to the post of a Qazi after completing his studies, the other was Syed Ismail Bilgrami who was a courtier of Nawab Najabat Khan and was known as سید صاحب السیف والقلم (Syed, the great master of the sword and of the pen). Maulana Abdul Hakim continued teaching and writing till the very close of his life. His library was a valuable treasure of books on logic, philosophy, exegesis and ethics. This rare library of northern India, it is said, was unfortunately given over to the flames by the Sikhs when they plundered Sialkot and set the city on fire.

The Maulana erected several buildings at Sialkot. (1) His mosque and his Madrassa are in existence even today. In the arch of the mosque there is written the following inscription المسجد من بانیه - له البیت فی الجنة the second line gives the date of its foundation, *i.e.*, 1052 A.H. (2) A bath and a rest-house for travellers, which was converted into a charitable dispensary by the English in 1275 A.H. (3) Bagh-i-Maulvi Saheb, a very spacious and beautiful garden surrounded by a rampart, the Maulana being buried in it after his death. The Mausoleum is typical of Shah Jahan's style of buildings. Tarikh-i-Samadi gives two قطعات about the death of the Maulana :

بحکم ازل چوں به جنت رسید　　شه معدن علم - عبدالحکیم
ندا شد ز دل سال ترحیل او　　ولی - مخزن علم - عبدالحکیم

چو با حکم خدا داخل جناں شد　　حکیم آں عالم دین با مروت
بخواں عارف بهشتی ارتحالش　　دو باره متقی احلال جنت

The garden is no longer in existence and the grave itself is in a dilapidated condition. (4) Idgah-i-Maulvi Saheb. (5) Talab-i-Maulvi Saheb. It is said that this tank cost lakhs of rupees, a conduit from the Chenab river brought water to it, the traces of which are still to be found here and there while the tank itself exists in a ruined condition.

The writings of the Maulana are mainly on etymology scholasticism, logic, philosophy and ethics and number twenty-two. One famous treatise on Philosophy سیلکوتی علی التصورات was published in Egypt some time ago.

Books on history mention Maulvi Abdullah as his son and in 'Maasir-ul-Kiram,' 'Asar-i-Khair,' 'Rawza-i-Qaiyumia,' Maulvi Abdullah is stated to be a renowned scholar whose writings were considered of high value so that a worthy father had a worthy son.

Khwaja Abdul Karim was a learned Kashmiri and a man of distinction having won his way by dint of intelligence and industry. Since his very childhood he had cherished dreams of making a pilgrimage to Mecca and of visiting the holy shrines of the great celebrities of Islam. At the time of Nadir Shah's invasion of India, Khwaja Abdul Karim had come down to Shahjahanabad (Delhi) with a view to proceeding to Mecca. His dream of making a pilgrimage, though within sight of realization, was delayed when, on being introduced to Nadir Shah who then held possession of the land routes to Arabia, for a permit, the latter, struck by his intelligence offered him employment. Soon after the sack of Delhi, Nadir Shah gave out that he was returning to Persia. Khwaja Abdul Karim was given an appointment first in Nadir Shah's camp and then subsequently he is said to have risen to the position of Nadir's Foreign Minister and was on one occasion deputed as an envoy to Balklava and then to the Sultan of Turkey. On retirement, Nadir Shah finally permitted him to proceed to Mecca.

Khwaja Abdul Karim's travels extended over many lands. He went to Baghdad, Damascus, and Aleppo and then proceeded to Mecca along with Mirza Muhammad Hasham who was called Nawab Motamad-ul-Mulk Syed Alavi Khan, Hakim Bashi. The Hakim who had been brought from the court of Delhi by

Nadir Shah obtained permission to perform the Haj after curing Nadir of his illness.

After the pilgrimage, Khwaja Abdul Karim went to the port of Jeddah from where he sailed to Hooghly. He remained in India for several years and made an intense study of the social and political conditions of Indians as well as of the Europeans who had settled in Bengal and on the coast of Coromandel.

After his long journeys over many lands the Khwaja finally returned to Kashmir where he was persuaded by his friends to write down the experiences he had gained during his extensive travels. The result was that he wrote his *Memoirs* in Persian[7] The book can stand comparison with some of the best works on travel. It contains many a picturesque description of men and things, and bears testimony to Khwaja Abdul Karim's intellectual ability, his power of observation, and his fascinating style of writing. The book, besides being written in an effective and interesting style, contains a wealth of information, which is of great importance as providing valuable references to contemporary history, namely, an account of the court of Persia and a narative of the most interesting events in the history of Hindustan from 1739 to 1749 A.D.

As an illustration of his great power of description and of minute observation we might mention his description covering four pages of his book, of Nadir Shah's tent[8] decorated with precious stones. He gives a most vivid idea of the tent used by the great Persian conqueror, which he ordered to be pitched in the Dewan Khana or the public hall where the celebrated Peacock Throne of Shah Jahan and Takht-i-Nadiri (Nadir's throne) and thrones of some other monarchs were placed.

Another example of his keen understanding of men is his intelligent account of the Europeans in Bengal given in the chapter entitled "A summary account of occurrences in Bengal and different parts of Hindustan."[9] The Khwaja describes in apt words the tastes and habits of Europeans, their cleanliness,

7 *The Memoirs of Khwajah Abdul Kareem*—translated from the original Persian by Francis Gladwin Esq., London, 1793.

8 Francis Gladwin's translation of *Khwajah Abdul Kareem's Memoirs*. pp. 29-32.

9 *Ibid* .d p. 169-79.

the freedom of their women, their business-like habits, and their firm military discipline.

The book is full of intelligent reflections and wise observations and forms a valuable record of references to contemporary events and of the personality of Khwaja Abdul Karim.

Among the present day *Ulema* of Kashmiri origin the name of Maulvi Anwar Shah of the Lolab valley is worth mentioning on account of his eminence in Muslim Theology. He is the Rector of the Dar ul-Ulum at Deoband, U.P., and the successor of the late Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan who has been universally acclaimed one of the most leading *Ulema* of the present day Islamic world.

Some Women of Note

In the roll of notable women of Kashmir during Muslim rule the place of honour certainly belongs to Lalla Arifa, who has influenced Kashmir to such an extent that her sayings are on the lips of all Kashmiris—Hindus and Musalmans—and her memory is reverenced by all. Hindus claim her as theirs while Musalmans claim her as theirs and, though originally a Hindu, she was greatly influenced by Islamic Sufiistic thought and may, in truth, be said to be above all formal religious conventionalities. She was the contemporary of Shah Hamadan at the time of his visit to Kashmir and Muhammadans affirm that she embraced Islam at his hands and inspired Sheikh Nur-ud-Din with her teachings. Her verses, as edited by Grierson and Barnett, show that she was imbued with Yoga philosophy as propounded by the Shaiva branch of Hindu religion.

Lalla Arifa was born about the middle of the 14th century of the Christian era in the time of Sultan Ala-ud-Din. Her parents lived at Pandrethan, the old capital of Kashmir, four miles to the south-east of modern Srinagar. She is said to have been married in Pampur and to have been cruelly treated by her step-mother-in-law who nearly starved her. Whether a big piece of mutton or a small one was brought for family use, poor Lalla had always "a stone to her dinner," that is to say, her step-mother-in-law used to put a lumpy stone on her platter and thinly cover it with rice so that it looked quite a big heap. And

yet Lalla would never murmur! She appears to have brought her married life to a close by quitting her home and by taking to roaming about naked. According to one account, Lalla was so named on account of her increased abdomen. Hindus call her Laleshwari, Muhammadans Lal Dedi or Mother Lalla.

Lalla used to wander about in rags and went about the country singing and dancing in a half-nude or even nude condition. When remonstrated with for such disregard for decency she is said to have replied that they only were men who feared God and that there were very few of such about. While she was roaming about naked, Shah Hamadan arrived in Kashmir and one day she saw him in the distance and cried out "I have seen a man" and turned and fled. Thereafter she soon wore clothes and recognised Shah Hamadan to be "a man" and freely associated with him and other Muslim saints of the time. This incident is said to have taken place at Khanpur near Srinagar.

Lalla died at an advanced age at Bijbehara, 28 miles to the south-east of Srinagar just outside the Jama Masjid there, near its south-eastern corner.

It is commonly avowed by educated Muhammadans in Kashmir that the verses of Lalla as collected and published are those which she composed before her contact with Shah Hamadan and other Muslim saints, that her verses after that contact are more expressly reflective of Muslim thought. In fact, I was positively assured by a Muhammadan graduate occupying quite a respectable post in the Kashmir State Service that a certain Zaildar near Charar Sharif had possession of such verses. For want of time I regret I could not go to see the Zaildar and verify the accuracy of his statement. I hope to be able to take up this question when I next visit Kashmir. But it is well-known that even the avowedly Muslim saint, in fact the patron-saint of Kashmir, Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, is given the distinctly Hindu name of Nand Riosh (or Nand Rishi) by the Pandits of the valley.

The sayings of Lalla (as edited by Grierson and Barnett) says Sir Richard Temple, commence with a narration of her own spiritual experience. She had wandered far and wide in search of the truth, had made pilgrimages to holy places and sought for salvation through formal rites, but all in vain. Then suddenly she found it in her own 'home,' her own soil. There she found

her own self which became to her the equivalent of a spiritual preceptor and she learned that it and the supreme self (God) were one. Sir Richard Temple has made a verse translation* of her sayings some of which are reproduced below. The reader will agree with Sir Richard that in her method of teaching her doctrine by means of verse, Lalla is at once mystical and transcendental.

3. Passionate, with longing in mine eyes,
Searching wide, and seeking nights and days,
Lo : I beheld the Truthful One, the Wise,
Here in mine own House to fill my gaze.
That was the day of my lucky star.
Breathless, I held him my Guide to be.

4. So my lamp of knowledge blazed afar,
Fanned by slow breath from the throat of me.
They, my bright soul to my self revealed,
Winnowed I abroad my inner light;
And with darkness all-around me sealed
Did I garner Truth and hold him tight.

94. "Think not on the things that are without;
Fix upon thy inner self thy Thought:
So shalt thou be freed from let or doubt" :
Precepts these that my Preceptor taught.
Dance then, Lalla, clothed but by the air :
Sing, then, Lalla, clad but in the sky.
Air and sky : what garment is more fair?
"Cloth" saith Custom. Doth that sanctify?

28. Keep a little raiment for the cold
And a little food for stomach's sake:
Pickings for the crows thy body hold,
But thy mind a house of knowledge make.

**The Word of Lalla the Prophetess*, Cambridge University Press, 1924.

43. Slay first the thieves—desire, lust and pride;
    Learn thou then to be the slave of all.
Robbers only for a while abide;
    Ever liveth the devoted call.
All a man's gain here is nothing worth,
    Save when his service shall be his sword;
Ash from the fire is the sun of birth;
    Gain thou then the knowledge of the Lord.

214. Heedless ever that the Day sublime
    Cometh when the wicked looketh not
When the apple of the autumn time
    Ripens with the summer apricot.

61. Whatsoever thing I do of toil,
    Burdens of completion on me lie;
Yet unto another falls the spoil
    And gains he the fruit thereof, not I.
Yet if I toil with no thought of self,
    All my works before the self I lay :
Setting faith and duty before help,
    Well for me shall be the onward way.

Taj Khatun was the daughter of Syed Hasan, the commander of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din's forces. Syed Hasan belonged to a very distinguished family and was the son of Syed Taj-ud-Din Baihaqi. It will be recalled that Shah Hamadan brought about reconciliation between the Kashmir and Tughlaq armies at Ferozepore in the Punjab. It was on this occasion that according to one of the terms of the treaty two girls of the royal family of Tughlaqs were married to two Kashmir notabilities. Bibi Taj Khatun was the daughter of Syed Hasan from this marriage of his among the Tughlaqs. Special pains were taken in the matter of her education and she was subsequently married to Mir Muhammad Hamadani, the son of Shah Hamadan. Bibi Taj Khatun was of a saintly character and passed most of her time in meditation in the garden built for her near which Fateh Kadal was subsequently built. She was buried in the same garden.

Barea was the daughter of Malik Saif-ud-Din, the chief minister of Sikandar, and, after her conversion with her father, was married to Mir Muhammad Hamadani after the death of Bibi Taj Khatun.

Haura was the mother of Sultan Sikandar and the queen of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din. She was a very remarkable woman and exercised a tremendous influence over her husband and subsequently over Sultan Sikandar. It was her strong personality that kept down all mischief during the earlier part of the reign of her son. She was gifted with a strong mind and could strike terror into the hearts of the enemies. She practically acted as a regent for her son for some time. When she found that her own daughter and son-in-law were plotting against the person of Sikandar, she did not hesitate to get them disposed of without any delay and thus nipped in the bud an evil which might have subverted the royal line of Shah Mir. Despite her prominent part in the civil and military affairs of the kingdom, she found time for devotion and was the disciple of Shah Hamadan. She was buried in the first royal burial ground which still exists near the Kanil Masjid at Srinagar.

Bahat lived in the time of Badh Shah and was noted for her learning. Her sayings in Persian are still on the lips of educated Kashmiris. One of her sayings is :

هرکه از بود وارهیده از اندوه رسته وازغم و بیم امید جسته

(He who is relieved of self is relieved of anxiety and is relieved of the sorrows and fears of hope.)

Her grave can be seen in Zalusa village in Nagam.

Lachhma Khatun was the daughter of Malik Saif-ud-Din Dar, a military commander during the reigns of Badh Shah and Hasan Shah. She was married to Malik Jalal-ud-Din, a minister of Badh Shah and was well-known for her learning and piety and founded a *Khanqah* and Madrassa near the Jami' Masjid in Mohalla Gojwara. The Madrassa does not exist but the *khanqah* is known as Masjid Qaza. For her *khanqah* and Madrassa she brought a waterway right from Lar which was called Lachhma Kol, an off-shoot of which was utilized for the Jami' Masjid. She profited by the company of Baba Ismail Kubravi who was the

Sheikh-ul-Islam of Sultan Hasan Shah and became her *murid* (disciple).

Bibi Saleha was the queen of Sultan Muhammad Shah and the sister of Kaji Chak. She also came under the influence of Baba Ismail Kubravi. Kashmiris remember her for the re-construction of the *Ziarat* of Shah Hamadan, known as Khanqah-i-Moalla which had been demolished by the Shias. She would not touch state revenues and, therefore, sold her jewellery to defray the expenses.

The roll of female worthies of Kashmir claims the tutoress of the celebrated Zeb-un-Nisa, the daughter of Aurangzeb. Hafiza Mariam to whom Zeb-un-Nisa owed her education was a learned lady, wife of Mirza Shukrullah of Kashmir.

Zeb-un-Nisa* Begam or originally Farzana Begam (French

*There has been some difference of opinion about the origin of Begam Sumru. We shall therefore briefly discuss it here. Newill's *Meerut District Gazetteer*, published in 1904, probably follows H.G. Keene (*The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, published 1876, p. 135) when it states that Begam Sumru was the daughter of Asad Khan, (according to another account Lutf Ali Khan), a Musalman of Arab descent who had settled in the town of Kutana about thirty miles north-west of Meerut and that she was born about 1753 A.D Keene mentions that her mother was a concubine. On the death of her father she and her mother became subject to ill-treatment from her half-brother the legitimate heir. They consequently removed to Delhi about 1760, and on the dawning of her youth she came across the path of Sumru. Francklin (*Shah Allum*, p. 146) describes Begam Sumru as the daughter of a Mughal nobleman. That Begam Sumru was really a Kashmirian has been recently brought to light by an incidental note. Mr. M. A. Singarvelu, curator of the old records at Pondicherry, has copied a footnote (in original) to the letter from Bussy to Marshal de Castries, Royal Minister of France, in which it is stated that Begam Sumru was a Kashmiri woman (vide *The Modern Review* for September, 1925, p. 275, under the caption "Disunited India as seen by a Foreign Eye" with an introduction by Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar, C.I.E.). This authoritative note of Bussy settles the question of Begam Sumru's origin. The Begam's photograph as published in *The Modern Review* for September, 1925, leaves no doubt, at least in my mind, that her features are purely Kashmirian and extraordinarily Jewish in their cut. Her earlier name Farzana is a typically Kashmiri name abbreviated in the Kashmiri language as Farze or Farzi. Zeb-un-Nisa (or the ornament of females) was the title conferred on her by the

form, Paragauna) who became the celebrated princess of Sardhana, is known to history as Begam Sombre or Sumru. She was undoubtedly a woman of undaunted courage, great cleverness, unusual tact and extraordinary charm of person. Captain Mundy in his *Journal of a Tour in India* says that the history of her life, if properly known, would form a series of scenes, such as perhaps, no other female could have gone through. Colonel Skinner had often, during his service with the Marattas, seen her, then a beautiful young woman, "leading on her troops to the attack in person, and displaying in the midst of carnage the greatest intrepidity and presence of mind". Walter Reinhardt who had taken the *nom de guerre* of Summers (when he enlisted in the British army) which his comrades from his saturnine complexion turned into Sombre and the Indians, by corruption, Sumru or Shumru, was responsible for the Patna massacre in 1763 A.D. on account of an unprovoked attack by the English on that city then held by Nawab Mir Qasim. Reinhardt who was of obscure parentage in the Electorate of Treves, had obtained the principality of Sardhana as a *jagir* from the Emperor of Delhi, sought the hand of the Begam, when a young and handsome girl, formally married her in 1773 A.D. and converted her to the Roman Catholic religion, though, according to another account, she was baptized three years after the death of Sumru who died or was murdered in the year 1778 A.D. at Agra. Begam Sumru's second husband was a French adventurer, a soldier of fortune named Levassoult who commanded her army.

Begam Sumru died on 27th January 1836 A.D. (8th Shavwal 1251 A.H.) aged ninety or some say 88 years. She must have therefore been born in 1746 or 1748 A.D. The Begam was buried in the Church of Sardhana of which she was the founder. At her death she left upwards of six lakhs of rupees for various charitable and pious purposes and gave intructions for founding a college for

Emperor Shah Alam on account of her loyalty and her courageous defence of the person of the emperor against the attack of his enemies and called her his most beloved daughter (*vide* Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerji's article on Begam Samru in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, March, 1925, p. 36) It is interesting to note that the Begam used a screen when giving interviews to foreigners and had a veil when out in the battle-field.

young men to serve on the Apostolic Mission to Tibet and Hindustan. Her gifts were not confined to Christianity alone but she subscribed liberally towards Hindu and Musalman institutions as well. The benevolence of her disposition and extensive charity which had endeared her to thousands excited in the mind of Lord William Bentinck "sentiments of the warmest admiration". On her death, her *jagir* lapsed to the British Government. She bequeathed, in cash, more than half a crore of rupees.

Thomas describes the Begam as small and plump, her complexion fair, her eyes large and animated. She wore Hindustani costume made of the most costly materials and spoke Persian and Urdu fluently and attended personally to business.

Begam Sumru was not a sovereign princess; her status was that of *jagirdar* holding lands of the Delhi crown on military tenure, though at one time, if she had accepted the proposal of Ghulam Qadir Rohilla and sided with him against the Emperor, perhaps she would have been the Empress of India. The British Government addressed her as Her Highness. Her "estate was extremely wealthy and well provided with fine towns such as Baraut, Dinauli, Barnawa, Sardhana, Jewar, and Dankaur and close by her dominions were the large marts of Meerut and Delhi." (*N.-W.P. Gazetteer*, iii, p. 295). The seat of the administration of the *jagir* was Sardhana the extent of which varied from time to time. The *jagir* of Sardhana was conferred on her by the Delhi Emperor's *farman*. At one time her dominions included the villages of Bala Bai, the daughter of Mahadji Sindhia, in the Meerut district, which were, however, given over to the English. The *pargana* of Pahaser in the Doab containing 54 villages was granted to her by Daulat Rao Sindhia in 1803 for military help rendered to him. The Begam's *jagir* was the most valuable in the Doab, possessing as it did, the advantages of the canal, the Jamuna and the Hindaun rivers, the Krishni and Kali *nadis* which afforded an ample supply of water and the soil, naturally fertile, produced, in abundance, grain of all kinds, cotton, sugar cane and tobacco. The revenue yielded by the estate amounted to eight lakhs of rupees per annum. Besides this, there were other sources of income. For instance, the Begam enjoyed the right to collect

transit duties on goods passing through her territories by land and water.

The military establishment of the Begam, according to Sleeman, cost her about four lakhs of rupees a year, her civil establishments eighty thousand and her household establishments and expenses about the same, the total thus amounted to six lakhs of rupees a year.

As a *jagirdar* of the Emperor of Delhi, the Begam had to maintain an army to help her sovereign in his need. Part of her army resided at Sardhana, her capital, and part at Delhi in attendance upon the Emperor. Apart from her regular army, she raised irregular troops whenever need arose. She had a well-stored arsenal and a foundry for canon within the walls of a small fortress built near her dwelling at Sardhana. Her army was a well-disciplined force, composed of infantry, artillery and a complement of cavalry, manned by Europeans of different nationalities like Marachand, Baours, Evans, and Dudrence who were principally occupied in opposing the inroads of the Sikhs. After them the command of her troops devolved successively upon the Irishman George Thomas, the Frenchmen Lavassoult and Saleur and Col. Poethod. At the time of her death her forces were led by Genl. Reghalini and eleven other European officers, one of whom was John Thomas, son of the celebrated George Thomas. The Begam herself commanded her army on many a battle-field. The people in the Deccan who knew her by reputation, on the occasion of her assistance to Sindhia, believed her to be a witch. After her treaty with the British she became their most sincere ally and was never found on the battle-field again except on one occasion. The siege of Bharatpur conducted by Lord Combermere, revived all her military ardour and she was desirous of taking the field and obtaining a share of the glory. Major Archer, Aide-de-Camp to Lord Combermere, writes : "When the army was before Bharatpur in 1826, the Commander-in-Chief was desirous that no native chief of our allies snould accompany the besieging force with any of his troops; this order hurt the pride of the Begam who remonstrated. She was told that the large and holy place of Muttra was to be confided to her care. "Nonsense," said she, "if I don't

go to Bharatpur, all Hindustan will say I am grown a coward in my old age." (Skinner, *i*, 144 *n*).

The Begam possessed many costly palaces and gardens, beautifully laid out, at different places which she visited in turn according to her fancy.[10] Her mansion at Delhi stood within a very extensive garden. Its parterres were thickly planted with the choicest fruits and flowers and it was traversed by avenues of superb cypresses. She also possessed a garden near Bharatpur and a good house within that fort. At Agra she had three gardens and a market in the same district. In Meerut she had a large house within an extensive garden where she most often lived before her Sardhana palace was built in 1834. This Meerut house is known as Begam Kothi. At Khirwa, three or four miles from Sardhana, she had another fine house which she was in the habit of visiting for a change of air. It was built in 1828 and levelled to the ground in 1848. Some two years before her death in 1836 the Begam built a very beautiful two-storeyed palace in the Anglo-Indian style at Sardhana. The design and execution of the work was entrusted to Major Reghalini, an Italian officer in her service. It is known by the name of Dilkusha Kothi.

The Kashmiri Language

Wherever Islam had gone, it has had an extraordinary influence over the language of the land and its script too. The present Persian and Turkish languages are instances of the kind. These, in turn, have influenced others. Remove the influence of Islam and you will see what is left of the Persian or the Turkish languages. In India, though Islam has not given a wholly new language to the country, it has substantially transformed the Brij Bhasha into the Urdu of our day.

A not dissimilar process has taken place in Kashmir. The original Dardic language has supplied the skeleton. Sanskrit has given it flesh but Islam has given it life. And we shall see how the modern Kashmiri language laid the foundations of its present day literature during Muslim rule.

10 Brajendra Nath Banerji's article "Begam Sumru's Possessions," *The Modern Review*, September, 1925.

Hitherto it was believed that the Kashmiri language was of Sanskrit origin, but the researches of Sir George Grierson have established the fact that this claim of Sanskrit origin cannot be sustained and that Kashmiri belongs to the Dard group of the Dardic languages. It has, however, for many centuries been subject to Indian influence and its vocabulary includes a large number of words derived from India, which have misled people to suppose that it is derived from Sanskrit. Some people in Kashmir still cling to the old view but the result of the researches of Sir George has been accepted by scholars who can speak with authority on the subject. In order, therefore, to trace its history it is essential that we should know what 'Dard' signifies. But before we do so, let us briefly go over the distribution of Aryan languages. It is well-known that there was in pre-historic times a language known as Aryan, spoken by the common ancestors of the Iranians and of the Indo-Aryans in the oasis of Khiva.[11] "The original home, whence the Aryans separated from the ancestors of other Indo-European languages," says Sir George, "is believed to have been the steppe-country of Southern Russia." The common ancestors of the Indo-Aryans appear to have followed up the course of the Oxus and the Jaxartes into the high-lying country round Khokand and Badakhshan, where a portion of them separated from the others, marching south over the western passes of the Hindu Kush into the valley of the river Kabul and thence into the plains of India where they settled, as the ancestors of the present Indo-Aryans. The Aryans who remained behind on the north of the Hindu Kush and who did not share in the migration to the Kabul valley spread eastwards and westwards. Those who migrated to the east occupied the Pamirs and now speak Ghalchah. Those who went westwards occupied Merv, Persia and Baluchistan and their descendants now speak those languages which, together with the Ghalchah languages, are classed as Iranian.[12] Apparently, therefore, the Iranian languages are

11 This note has been compressed from *The Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Part II (see p. 7).

12 In view of the reference elsewhere to the existence of Jewish element in Kashmir, it is important that we should sta'e here that the Pushto

the direct descendants of the ancient Aryan stock, while the Indo-Aryan languages represent a branch which issued from the parent stem at a very early date. The Dardic languages possess many characteristics which are peculiar to themselves, while in some other respects they agree with Indo-Aryan and, in yet other respects, with Iranian languages. They do not possess all the characteristics either of Indo-Aryan or of Iranian. It is assumed that at the time when they issued from the Aryan language, the Indo-Aryan language had already branched forth from it, and that the Aryan language had, by that time, developed further on its own lines in the direction of Iranian; but that that development had not yet progressed so far as to reach all the typical characteristics of Iranian, and the Aryan language still retained some, though not all of the characteristics which it possessed when the Indo Aryans set out for the Kabul valley. In brief, Aryan is the parent-stock, from which shoots off the Indo-Aryan language at a very early date and passes down to India. Then before the other branch of the parent-stock becomes actually Iranian, another branch, the Dardic, shoots off and settles in what we call Dardistan.

The word 'Dard,' says Sir George, has a long history and the people bearing the name are a very ancient tribe, who are spoken of, in Sanskrit literature, as 'Darda' or 'Darada,' which name is of frequent occurrence not only in geographical works, but also in the epic poems and in the Puranas. Kalhana often refers to them under the name of 'Dards' or 'Daradas' and mentions them as inhabiting the country where we now find the Shins who, at the present day, are called Dards. Greeks and Romans included, under the name of the Dard country, the whole mountainous tract between the Hindu Kush and the frontiers of India proper. Accordingly, this tract is, at present, known as Dardistan, though this is not strictly accurate as it includes much of the country not occupied by Dards. The Aryan languages spoken in this tract are, therefore, termed Dardic.

language belongs to the Iranian Group on its cleavage from the original Aryan stock and after the separation of the Dardic group from the same parental line (*vide Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. X, p. 9).

Dardistan was once inhabited by tribes whom Sanskrit writers grouped together under the title of Pisacha. But exception has been taken to the use of this word as it connotes a cannibal demon, and therefore, that term has been given up and the name Dardic used instead. It denotes a combination of three groups (a) Kafir (b) Chitrali (c) Dard group proper. This last consists of (1) Shina, (2) Kashmiri, and (3) Kohistani.

Kashmiri is the language of the Valley of Kashmir and of the neighbouring valleys. Although it has a Dardic basis, it has come, to a large extent, under the influence of the Indo-Aryan languages spoken to its south. It is the only one of the Dardic languages that has a literature, and is estimated to be spoken by 1,256,986 people in Kashmir (Census 1921) and over 8,000 emigrants in the North-Western Frontier, the Punjab and other Provinces. Kashmiri has also overflowed the Pir Pantsal range into the Jammu Province of the State. It has one true dialect which is called Kashtwar.

In the standard Kashmiri of the valley there are minor differences of language, for instance, the Kashmiri spoken by Musalmans differs from that spoken by Pandits. Not only is the vocabulary of the former more filled with words borrowed from Persian (and Turkish and Arabic) but also there are slight differences of pronunciation. Again, there is the distinction between town and village talk or between *Groost* and *Grashia* (the peasant and the prince). Then, there is the distinction between the language of prose and that of poetry.

Kashmiri has a small but respectable list of literary works, the foundation of which was laid during early Muslim rule. According to Sir George Grierson, the oldest author is Lalla or Lal Ded (born in the reign of Sultan Ala-ud-Din) hundreds of whose verses are quoted all over the valley and are in every one's mouth, MS. collections of which have, from time to time, been made under the Sanskrit title of *Lalavakyani*. Lal Didi's verses[13] are all religious. *Banasurvadha* is the first poem that can be dated though its authorship is not known. It is "on music and is in the Hindu dialect and was written in the reign of Sultan

13 Recently translated by Sir Richard Temple, Cambridge University Press, 1924.

Zain-ul-Abidin". "*Satpar* by Munuji on medicine and astrology, *Lengparan* by Paruthi on the Hindu law of inheritance, *Ramavataracharita*[14] a history of Rama, with a sequel entitled the *Lavakusacharita*, *Krishnavataralila* the history of Krishna, *Sivaparinaya* history of the circumstances connected with Siva's marriage with Parvati are highly poetical works in pure Kashmiri, also in the Hindu dialect."

Mahmud Gami is the best known of writers in the Musalman style and is the author of *Yusuf Zulaikha*.[15] *Laila-wa-Majnun*, *Shirin-o-Khusrau*, all on familiar Persian models. Buhler in his *Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS.* mentions the following works: *Vamiq-o-Azra* by Saif-ud-Din, Nisab a sort of lexicon by Sumty Pandit, *Amsilla* (a poem), *Harun-ur-Rashid*, *Mahmud-i-Ghaznavi*, *Sheikh San'a*, by Aziz-ud-Din. Hamidullah's *AkbarNama* is a history of Afghan rule dedicated to Akbar Khan of Afghanistan (both in Persian and Kashmiri). *Divan-i-Nazim*, the Dialogue of Sukh Jewan and his wife, and Zahir-ud-Din's *Makhzan-ul-adviah-i-Kashmir* are others.

The Bible was translated into Kashmiri and was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in the Persian character. The grammar of Kashmiri in the Sanskrit language entitled the *Kasmirasabdamrita* by Pandit Isvara Kaula was edited by Sir George Grierson and published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1893. The Pandit was engaged on a Kashmiri-Sanskrit Dictionary at the time of his death in 1893, but the materials collected by him for this purpose were subsequently made over to Sir George Grierson and from these and other sources a Kashmiri-English Dictionary is now being prepared by him and published by the Bengal Asiatic Society.

Connected with formal literature, though not a part of it, are the subjects of folk-tales and proverbs. Kashmir is a land of proverbs and common speech is profusely interlarded with them. Some of the proverbs have been collected and arranged by Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, C.M.S., and are full of information regarding the customs and character of the people.

14 Printed in the Persian character at Srinagar in 1923.
15 An edition of this book with a partial translation has been prepared by Karl Friedrich Burkhard in German.

Kashmir is also celebrated for its folk-tales. Not only are some familiar in every home, but there are also professional *rawis* or reciters who make their living by telling fairy tales worthy of the Arabian Nights. These men, says Sir George, recite with astonishing verbal accuracy stories that have been handed down to them by their predecessors now and then containing words that have fallen out of use and with the meaning of which they are now unacquainted. Sir Aurel Stein has made a collection of such tales as dictated by Hatim Tilawon of Panzil, a professional story-teller to the Sind valley in Kashmir, which has been translated by Sir George Grierson and published by John Murray (1923) under the title of *Hatim's Tales.*

Kashmiris use three alphabets for writing their language, the Sarda, the Nagri and the Persian. The Persian character is used by Musalmans and by several Hindus. It is also the character employed at the present day by Christian Missionaries in writing books designed for natives of the country The spelling of Kashmiri words written in the Persian character has the advantage of being fairly constant but the alphabet is not quite so well suited for illustrating the complicated vowel sounds of the language. The Nagri character has a limited use amongst the Hindus. The Sarda character is the ancient indigenous character of Kashmiri. It is allied to Nagri, being built on the same system and corresponding with it, letter for letter, but the forms of the letters differ greatly. It is more closely allied to the Takri alphabets of the Punjab Hills, and has a complete array of signs for the different vowels. It is generally used by Hindus.

Before we close this note on the Kashmiri language, it is interesting to observe that, in spite of the influence of Sanskrit, modern Kashmiri has abandoned Indian metres. "The metres used are all Iranian, and what may be called the heroic metre of the language, employed even in Hindu epics like the *Ramavataracharita,* is the well-known Persian metre called *Bahr-i-Hazaj.*"

Kashmir's Contribution to Persian Poetry

It is a universal fact that the physical features of country profoundly influence its people, their occupation, their character'

and their art and literature. Kashmir is a typical instance of the kind. Nature has profusely endowed Kashmir with the wealth of real beauty which has made it renowned as the paradise of the earth. Such a land could not fail to be the home of poetry perhaps the highest expression of beauty. But it is a pity that Kashmir poetry has not been properly appreciated and the outside world knows very little of what the genius of Kashmir has contributed to the realm of poetic thought. The arts and crafts of Kashmir have acquired a fame on account of the energy of 'the commercial artist' but the art of the poet has lain hidden in the manuscripts which have hardly seen the light of the day. As we are concerned with the Muslim period of Kashmir history, we shall confine ourselves to what Kashmir had done for the muse of poetry in the language of its adoption, namely, Persian. If Persia is proud of its Firdausi, its Hafiz, its Rumi and its Nizami, Kashmir is equally proud of its Shaiq, its Ghani, its Kanil, and its Sarfi. Abdul Wahab Shaiq wrote a versified history of Kashmir consisting of 80,000 couplets, Ghani's *Divan* has gone beyond the confines of Kashmir though it has yet to await its days of proper appreciation. The *masnavi* of Mirza Akmal-ud-Din Khan Kanil is a *masnavi* of sublime mystic thought in Islam. The *khamsas* that Sarfi, or Mulla Baha-ud-Din or Mulla *Ashraf* or Mulla Hamid of Kashmir wrote have yet to enter the precincts of a printing press. Gray's well-known lines :

> Full many a gem of purest ray serene
> The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear

are most fitly applicable to the Persian poetry of Kashmir.

The Persian language may be said to have entered Kashmir with the advent of Islam, but it was during the reign of Sultan Sikandar and Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin that the *lingua franca* of Asia acquired general adoption and, as it were, came to stay. The presence of scholars and poets like Syed Muhammad Mantiqi, Mulla Ahmed Kashmiri, Mulla Nadimi, Mulla Fasihi, Mulla Malihi, Mulla Jamil, Mulla Ahmad Rumi, Mulla Nur-ud-Din, Mulla Ali Shirazi, Mulla Nadiri, Maulana Husain Ghaznavi and others at the court of Zain-ul-Abidin struck the

roots of Persian deep into the soil of Kashmir. Under Husain Shah Chak who was himself a poet of note, Persian poetry further flourished in Kashmir till under the Mughals it reached its climax and produced a galaxy which included Sarfi, Fani, Ghani, Auji and a host of others. The court language and the language of the literate, which had already been prefected and polished as a convenient vehicle of human sentiment and emotion, of love impressions and yearnings of the heart, the ecstatic raptures and thought imagery of the Kashmiri poet's mind found their vent in the sweet and graceful rhyme of the land of Iran. Thought waves were stirred and set in motion by the exquisite beauty of Kashmir natural scenery and found their expression in Persian phraseology. It was as though the Kashmir fair were staging themselves not in their national *pheran* but in the clear cut fashionable and up-to-date Persian draperies flounced here and there with the Arab thread-work. The effect was peculiar and exquisite—peculiar because the Kashmiri poet utilised the Persian ways of expressing the emotions in the Persian idiom ready to his hand and suited to his purpose : exquisite, because unlike the ordinary Persian poetry, his sentiments were quickened directly by the natural phenomena amidst which he lived day and night and therefore more realistic, true and simple. His poetry is a faithful representation and true interpretation of facts observed at first hand in the midst of his poetic environments and the Persian idiom becomes so apt in his mouth that it acquires a sweetness, grace and meaning of its own as quite distinct from the customary, soulless and merely ornamental use made of it elsewhere. Fundamental truths of ethics, philosophy, practical wisdom, religious dogma and even the varied 'states' of a lover's mind in unison and in separation, in eagerness and in expectancy, in hope and in fear, the political theories and economic and social relations are supported and established with apt illustrations and fine allegories drawn direct from nature revealing the keen observation of the round-about and the deep study of the human mind. The dew drops on the verdant grass, the soft breeze, the sun and the moon, the revolving heavens, gigantic hills, the snow, the hail-storm, the rose and the jessamine, the torrents, the lakes, and the flowing waters suggest to the highly sensitive mind of the poet morals and lessons which years of dull

poring over books could not bring home a tithe so well. The Kashmiri had a distinct advantage over the Hindustani in this respect as the latter perhaps seldom saw the natural phenomena that were ever present to the mind of the former. The Kashmiri's line of argument may not, at times, be quite logical but there can be no gainsaying the fact that it appeals and wins over the heart. His illustrations may not always be exactly on all fours with his propositions but they are couched in felicitous terms and strike a responsive chord. These features of Kashmiri-Persian poetry are most prominent in the compositions of Ghani, of Salim, of Mohsin Fani and of Mirza Mujrim and several others.

Before we substantiate what we have said by actual reference to the Kashmiri poet's work let us not ignore the critical question of the value of Kashmir poetry taken as a whole. Is it worthy of the attention, not of those who are ready to appreciate all kinds of Persian poetry but of those who, with the assistance of their literary taste and in the light of their critical sense, award places in the scale of merit?

"In poetry," as Mathew Arnold in his essay entitled 'The Study of Poetry' says, "the distinction between excellent and inferior, sound and unsound or only half-sound, true and untrue or only half-true, is of paramount importance." He recommends that we should "keep clear and sound our judgments about poetry," keep ourselves free from fallacious estimates and praises of that which is not the best. If it were claimed that all Kashmiri poetry is excellent we should be in appreciable danger of failing to keep our judgments clear and sound. We make no such large claim for it. On the other hand, we must confess that there are even in Ghani verses and *ghazals* which often fall short of high standard. But we must also claim that, side by side with much that falls short, there is much that has "a power of forming, sustaining and delighting us," that which cannot fail to give pleasure to the most austere critic, that even in the less excellent compositions there are lines which ring true, that even in faulty pieces a quiet thought is often exquisitely conveyed, an image of feeling convincingly rendered.

There is another way of judging poetry, as it were, another test. Let us again turn to Mathew Arnold for guidance. He

says, "There can be no more useful help for discovering what poetry belongs to the class of the truly excellent, and can therefore do us most good, than to have always in one's mind lines and expressions of the great masters, and to apply them as a touchstone to other poetry." "Of course," he continues, "we are not to require this other poetry to resemble them it may be very dissimilar. But if we have any tact we shall find them, when we have lodged them well in our minds, an infallible touchstone for detecting the presence or absence of high poetic quality and also the degree of this quality, in all other poetry which we may place beside them. Short passages, even single lines, will serve our turn quite sufficiently."

Now let us place Saib of Isfahan side by side with Ghani. Our choice of Saib, it is to be hoped, is not unreasonable, as both were contemporaries. And as to the excellence of Saib's poetry we have the testimony of two acute critics, one of the West and the other of the East, both men of profound learning, the verdict of whose judgment can hardly be questioned. I mean the late Professor Browne and Maulana Shibli Nomani. Says Professor Browne (*Persian Literature in Modern Times*, 1500-1924, pp. 164-65) : "I find Saib especially attractive, both on account of his simplicity of style and his skill in the figures entitled *Husn-i-Talil* or "poetical aetiology" and *Irsal-ul-Masal* or "proverbial commission". Nearly forty years ago (in 1885) I read through the Persian portion of that volume of the great bilingual anthology entitled *Kharabat* which deals with the lyrical verse of the Arabs, Turks and Persians, both odes and isolated verses and copied into a notebook which now lies before me those which pleased me most, irrespective of authorship; and, though many of the 443 fragments and isolated verses which I selected are anonymous, more than one tenth of the total (45) are by Saib."

Maulana Shibli (*Sh'ir-ul-Ajam*, vol. iii, p. 189) considers Saib "the last great Persian poet, superior in originality to Qaani, the greatest and most famous of the moderns". In addition to these weighty opinions we have to remember that Shah Abbas II of Persia made Saib his poet-laureate.

Now it would be interesting to note that (according to Mir Husain Dost of Sambhal) when Saib met Ghani and the latter

presented him his selected verses, the following couplet of Ghani "sent him into ecstasy" and Saib is said to have remarked that "the whole of his *Divan* could have been bartered away for this single couplet of Ghani" :

حسن سبزے به خط سبز مرا کرد اسیر   دام همرنگ زمین بود گرفتار شدم -

The green glow (of beauty) by means of the green (just shooting) down captivated me :

The colour of the net being the same as that of the ground, I was enmeshed.

Maulana Azad Bilgrami (*Sarv-iAzad*, published at Hyderabad, Deccan, in 1913, p. 103) says that Mirza Saib adds an insertion (tazmin) to the words of Ghani :

این جواب آن غزل صائب که میگوید غنی
یاد ایامی که دیگ شوق ما سرپوش داشت

On one occasion the notebook of Saib had the following second hemistich while the first one had been erased by him :

که از لباس تو بوئے کباب می آید

A friend of Saib asked Ghani to suggest the first hemistich, whereupon the latter readily replied :

کدام سوخته جان دست زد بدامانت   که از لباس تو بوئے کباب می آید

This friend showed the couplet to Saib who is said to have remarked that he (Saib) should have written a whole *Divan* with only the first hemistiches himself and asked Ghani to add insertions thereon.

As for the basis of Professor Browne's estimate of Saib's skill in "proverbial commission," mentioned above, the fact is that it is Ghani who is the master-mind and Saib rather the imitator. Girami, the court poet of the *Nizam* of Hyderabad, while praising a poet says :

چنان تمثیل را داده رواجی   که از فکر غنی گیرد خراجی

It is like Muhammad Husain Azad laying the foundation of what is called 'natural poetry' in Urdu and Altaf Husain Hali getting the credit for subsequent work.

The reader can compare our selections of Ghani's couplets with those of his own choice from Saib and see if Saib does not come out the second best. The reader would further appreciate Ghani all the better as his mother-tongue is not Persian while Saib was born to the language.

In the long list of Kashmir poets, for no single city, in India at any rate, has produced such a large number of poet of the Persian language as Srinagar, there are some whose pre-eminence has been recognised. The absolute pre-eminence of Ghani, it may be heresy to say, has been perhaps too generally assumed and his praise so assiduously sung as to suggest that Kashmir had produced but one poet. No one would venture to pluck a leaf from his laurel, it will be green while the Persian language lasts. But it to ought to be remembered that Ghani is something more than a single original poet. He is a school, a generation of poets, Saib the poet laureate of Shah Abbas II of Persia is, in a sense, one of his progeny as already explained.

Let us now take a rapid survey of some of the random couplets of the poets we have mentioned above as it is hardly possible for us to give full *ghazals* in the short space at our disposal.

بر تواضع هائی دشمن تکیه کردن ابلهی ست
پائی بوس سیل از پا افگند دیوار را
عشق بریک فرش بنشاند گدا و شاه را
سیل یکسان می کند پست و بلند راه را
کاسهٔ خود پر مکن زنهار از خوان کسی
داغ از احسان خورشید ست بر دل ماه را (غنی)

The torrents are the usual phenomena of the Valley of Kashmir. Ghani in the first couplet impresses on his reader the common experience that the assumed humility of the foe is the more to be dreaded, as the torrent which kisses the feet of the wall, actually tends to pull it down. In the second, he likens

love to a torrent and by analogy teaches that love affects the rich and the poor equally. In the third, he refers to the spots of the moon and draws the moral that a man should not lay himself under an obligation to another. Note how the sight of a torrent suggests to Ghani truths of fundamental importance.

دلم به سایهٔ گل می‌کشد چو گل سالم
سرشته اند به آب وهوائے کشمیرم (سالم)

My heart, Salim, is attracted like the rose to the shadow of flowers,

My (clay) has been kneaded with the air and water of Kashmir.

ندارد در هوائے گرم لطفی آتش صهبا
هلال عید دانم گر رگ ابرے شود پیدا (غنی)

The fire of wine has no charm when the air is hot,

I take it as the crescent of the Id should a vein of cloud be visible.

دل که صاحب دیده شد لبریز نور حق شود
قطره را چون صدف پیمانهٔ دریا کنید (سالم)

The heart that is gifted with true vision becomes overfilled with the light of Truth;

Make the drop the measure-glass of the ocean like the oyster.

دست ارباب کرم چون کیسهٔ مفلس تهی ست
معنی این نکته حل شد از کف دریا مرا (فانی)

The hands of the generous are empty like the pocket of the poor,

The spray of the sea solved this problem for me.

گوشہ گیر از انقلاب روزگار آسودہ باش
شورش دریا بہ بیں چوں موج با ساحل بیا (سالم)

Encloister thyself from the revolution of time and be at ease :
Like the wave come to the shore and behold the boisterousness of the sea.

نصیبی نیست از اهل کرم برگشته بختاں را
که هرگز پر نسازد کاسۂ گرداب در را دریا (غنی)

The luck-stricken can receive no share from the generous,
For, the river never fills the bowl of the whirlpool.

تا بہر صورت تواند حسن خود را جلوه داد
رنگهاے مختلف از جامۂ ایجاد بست (فانی)

In order that He might manifest his beauty in all forms
He has decorated the creation with many a diverse colour.

نفسها صدمۂ سیلاب مرگ و تن بدان قائم
حصار ما چو ساحل تکیہ بر آب رواں دارد (سالم)

The breaths are shocks (waves) of the torrents of death and still the body rests thereon
Our castle rests on the flowing water like the bank.

بود در اضطراب از اهل عالم هر که کامل شد
طپیدن در میان جمله اعضا قسمت دل شد (غنی)

This may be rendered somewhat freely in the familiar language of Cowper—Uneasy lies the head that wears the crown, since, of all organs it has fallen to the lot of the heart to beat.

Couplets from Ghani

غنی از دولتِ دنیا نگردد عیب کس زائل
که زر نتواند از روی محک بردن سیاهی را

The riches of the world, Ghani, would never wash off one's blemish :
Because gold can never erase blackness from the face of the touchstone.

نیست شهرت طلب آنکس که کمالی دارد
هرگز انگشت نما بدر نباشد چون هلال

He who has acquired perfection does not seek fame :
As the full moon is never pointed at, like the crescent.

هرکه پابند وطن شد می کشد آزارها
پائ گل اندر چمن دائم پراست ازخارها

Whosoever is stuck to his home has to undergo hardships :
The foot of the rose in the garden is ever and anon full of thorns.

فیض سخن بمرد سخن گو نمی رسد
از نافهٔ بوئ مشک به آهو نمی رسد

The poet does not reap the harvest of his own poetry,
Just as the musk-deer does not get the musk-odour from its own navel.

زشعرمن شده پوشیده فضل و دانش من
چو میوه که بماند بزیر برگ نهان

My verses enshroud my learning and my wisdom :
Like the leaves that hide the fruit.

در مکرر بستن مضمون رنگین لطف نیست
کم دهد رنگ ار کسی بندد حنائی بسته را

What charm is there in reproducing a brilliant theme ;
The *hina*, once used, gives but little colour.

سنگین دل ست هر که بظاهر ملائم است
پنهان درون پنبه نگر پنبه دانه را

He who poses as soft is hard at heart :
See, the cotton seed is concealed inside the flake of cotton.

بی نیازی از سخن هرگز نباشد گوش را
سیرچشمی حاصل از نعمت نه شد سرپوش را

The ear is never fed up with poetry,
As the cover of the dish is never satisfied with contact with the sumptuous dish.

دل به استدلال بستم ماندم از مقصود دور
نردبان کردم تصور راه ناهموار را

I pinned my mind to Reason and missed my objective,
I imagined the rugged road as the staircase (to reach God).

جان بلب از ضعف نتواند رسید
من بزور ناتوانی زنده ام

On account of extreme weakness my soul (life) cannot come up even to my lips (to depart),
Thus, it is that I live through the power of my infirmity.

سعی بهر راحت همسائیگان کردن خوش است
بشنود گوش از برائی خواب چشم افسانها

It is laudable that one should endeavour to give comfort to his neighbours,
As the ear listens to stories to bring sleep to the eye.

نمی باشد مخالف قول و فعل راستان باهم
که گفتار قلم باشد ز رفتار قلم پیدا

The words and deeds of the righteous are never at variance,
As the pen produces words in accord with its movements (on the paper).

تا توانی عاشق معشوق هرجائی مشو
می کند خورشید سرگردان گل خورشید را

As far as possible be not the lover of a fickle-minded sweetheart,
As the sun always keeps the sun-flower uneasy.

عاشقان را جنبش مژگان چشم یار کشت
عالمی را اضطراب نبض این بیمار کشت

The movement of the eye-lashes of the beloved has slain the lover ;
The world has been killed by the restlessness of the pulse of this patient.

Couplets from Fani

خود شناس را نیست کس فانی نباشد حق شناس
آشنائی با خدا نبود ز خود بیگانه را

If one does not realize the secrets of the self, Fani, he cannot know God,
One who is a stranger unto himself is a stranger to God as well.

This is an explanation of من عرف نفسه فقد عرف ربه

One who knows his own self knows God too.

دیدن به چشم دل همه عالم چه مشکل است
آئینه که داشت سکندر همین دل است

To see the whole world with the mind's (spiritual) eye is not difficult,
The mirror that Sikandar had was this same heart.

جز خیال چشم مستت در دلم اندیشه نیست
هیچکس را باده خوشتر ازین در شیشه نیست

I have nothing in my heart except the thought of thy intoxicated eye,
None has a better wine than this in his bottle.

فانی ماولک راه چو پرکار می کنم
یک پائی ما بگردش و یک پائی درگل است

Fani, I tread the path (to God) like the compass :
One foot of mine is in motion and the other is fixed.

Couplets from Salim

عمر وحشت زده آهوی بیابانی هست
روز و شب نرگس شهلائی گلستانی هست

Life is like the frightened deer of a desert,
Day and night are like the black and white narcissus of a garden.

ماه در هاله بفکر تو فرو رفته ببین
که سری مست در آغوش گریبانی هست

The moon in its ring is deep in meditation in thy love, see !
It looks like an entranced head sunk down in the neck-collar.

در شباب و شیب چشم دل ز غفلت وا نشد
گردش ایام گوئی جنبش گهواره بود

Neither in youth nor in old age did the eye of the heart open from the slumber of negligence,

The revolution of time was, so to say, the motion of the cradle (that induces sleep).

شناور تکیه بر دریا کند تا دست و پا دارد
عمل شرط ست و می باید توکل بر خدا کردن

A swimmer trusts the river so long as his limbs are active,
One should rely on God's help provided one is up and doing.

اجل دیوانه وضع و عمر مست جلوه می ترسم
صدائ پائ رهرو شیر را از خواب بردارد

Here Salim compares death to a mad slumbering lion and human life is compared to a coquette fond of displaying the beauty of her gait. The poet, therefore, fears that the sound of her foot while tripping, will, at last, rouse the lion from his sleep and there will be an end to all coquetry.

Couplets from Sarfi

ز ضعف تن عجب حالی ست بیمار محبت را
که نتواند کشید از ناتوانی بار صحت را

The weakness of the body has brought the love-sick man into a strange condition :

On account of weakness he can no longer bear the weight of recovery.

برُخ فگند چا شتگه آن مه نقاب را
پیش از زوال شام رسید آفتاب را

In the morning that beauty, with a face like the moon, threw a veil over his face,
It was strange to see the eve overtake the sun before noon.

از توتیا مپرس از آن خاک در بپرس
خاصیتش ز مردم صاحب نظر بپرس

Ask not of the merits of tutty, but ask for the dust of her door,
Ask for its virtues from discerning men.

هم ز دل دزدید صبر و هم دل دیوانه را
یار من با خانه میدزدد متاع خانه را

He stole from my heart all patience and then took the whole infatuated heart itself,
My thief steals the house together with all its belongings.

خالت از مکر بران گوشهٔ ابرو بنشست
هر کجا گوشه نشینی است درو مکرے هست

Thy mole lurks near the corner of thine eye-brow to deceive,
Wherever the recluse, lurking in a corner, is to be found, deceit is in him. (Haig)

We shall now give brief notices of some of the more important poets of Kashmir. The place of honour must certainly be given to Ghani and we shall therefore begin with him.

The full name of Ghani is Mulla Muhammad Tahir Ghani. He belonged to the Ashai clan and was born about 1040 A.H. (1630 A.D.) the third year after the accession of Shah Jahan. Not much is known about his family. The whole of his educational career was spent under Mulla Mohsin Fani. And unlike Fani or Sarfi he did not go out to complete his education abroad. He had his education in his own city and he had his livelihood

in his own hand. The choice by Ghani of his pen-name, accidently it might be thought, is remarkably significant as it reveals the particular incidents connected with his life. The numerical value of the three letters, composing his name, when put together, gives the year, 1060 A.H., in which he commenced writing poetry. He was twenty then. The etymological meaning of these letters, put in a nutshell, represents his attitude towards pleasure and pelf, and the pomp and show of mundane dignity.

It redounds to the great credit of Ghani that he never sought the company of the rich or those placed in exalted position. His own mind was to him a kingdom wherein he found all joy. He was in the habit of putting the padlock on the door of his cottage when he was in it, and taking it off when he was out. When asked the reason of this strange action on his part, he replied that he was the only wealth in the cottage which needed a padlock and when he was out, the need for the same did not exist and so the door was always open in his absence. Iqbal (*Payam-i-Mashriq*, p. 120) has put this incident in beautiful verse :

غنی آن سخن گوئ بلبل صفیر — نوا سنج کشمیر مینو نظیر
چو اندر سرا بود دربسته داشت — چو رفت از سرا، تخته را واگذاشت
یکی گفتش اے شاعر دل رسی — عجب دارد از کار تو هر کسی
بپاسخ چه خوش گفت مرد فقیر — فقیر و به اقلیم معنی امیر
زمن آنچه دیدند یاران رواست — درین خانه جز من متاعی کجاست
غنی تا نشیند به کاشانه اش — متاعی گرانی است درخانه اش
چو آن محفل افروز درخانه نیست
تهی تر ازین هیچ کاشانه نیست

Ghani throughout his life never waited on a prince, nor wrote a single *qasida* in praise of any nobleman of king. His *Divan* consists wholly of odes. It is said that he wrote about a lakh of verses but his printed *Divan*, compiled by his pupil, Muslim Mujrim, is a mere fragment of what he composed.

Ghani appears to have possessed an extraordinary fertility of brain and an uncommon vividness of imagination. The accounts

of poetical encounters show that he met the exigencies of the occasion with a wonderfully prompt utterance. Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan in his *Tazkira-i-Sham'-i-Anjuman* says that "Ghani had a high-soaring intellect and in the space of a few years he acquired a high place in the art of poetry writing and ultimately he began to dive deep into the ocean of poetry and brought forth pearls that were worth buying with the cash of life." Ghani had a brother whose name was Muhammad Zaman Nafe who was a well-known man of letters in his days. Ghani died in 1079 A.H. (1668 A.D.) and lies buried in Rajauri Kadal Mohallah of Srinagar in the compound of Husain Baladuri.

The age of Ghani was the bloom of Persian poetry in Kashmir, which under its satraps who were themselves men of great literary eminence and who encouraged poetry and fine arts, Persian poetry found a second home in Srinagar.

Abul Fazl says (*Ain*, Vol. I, p. 584) that Mazhari wrote poetry from his early youth, and lived long in Iraq. Mazhari travelled a good deal over Iran, Khorasan, and Hindustan and saw the poets of his age. In Iraq he was with Muhtasham and Wahshi. After his return to India Mazhari was employed by Akbar as Mir Bahri of Kashmir which employment he held in 1004 A.H. (1595 A.D.). He had turned Shia and as his father was a Sunni consequently they quarrelled with each other. Mazhari is said to have written six thousand couplets. He died in 1018 A.H. (1609 A.D.) though Hasan says in 1026 A.H. and is buried in the Mulla Kawah graveyard, Srinagar. All *tazkirahs* paise his poems. Some of his verses are :

چه حالت است ندانم جمال سلمی را   که بیش دیدنش افزون کند تمنی را

I cannot understand the secret of Salma's beauty;
For the more you behold it, the greater becomes your desire.

به بست دیدهٔ مجنون ز خویش و بیگانه   چه آشنا نگهی بود چشم لیلی را

What friendly look lay in Laila's eyes that shut Majnun's eyes to friends and strangers.

فدائی آئینه گردم که دلستان مرا   درون خانه بگلگشت بوستان دارد

I admire the looking-glass which reflects my sweetheart promenading on a flower-bed, although he is inside his house. The eyes of the beloved are crocus-like or almond-shaped, the chin is like an apple, the black hair like hyacinth,—in fact, his whole face resembles a garden rather he is a garden personified.

اقبال حسن کار ترا پیش برده است ، ورنه صلاح کار ندانسته که چیست .

The good fortune of thy beauty has caused thy affairs to prospey,
Else thou wouldst not have known how to manage matters successfully.

هرکس که به چشم ما سبک شد ، بر خاطر آسمان گران است

He of whom my eye makes light
Appears to heaven dull and heavy. (Blochmann)

صنما براه مسجد مگذر پئی تماشا ، شکنند شیخ و صوفی همه توبه نصوحی ،

I am a tulip of Sinai and not like the bud born of the rose,
I cast flames over the slit of my collar, hence I am surrounded by flames like a flower on Mount Sinai, for Mount Sinai is surrounded by God's glory.

دنباله رو خاطر خود رائی خودم ، بی زحمت ره آبله پائی خودم
صد پرده درم زخود نیایم بیرون ، صد مرحله پیمایم برجائی خودم

I follow in the wake of my own self-opinionated heart,
Though the road is not bad, I make myself footsore.
Though I rend asunder a hundred screens, I cannot step out of myself ;
I traverse a hundred stages and am still at my own place.

مظهر به جهان چو بی نصیبان میباش ، وز گل به نوائی عندلیبان میباش
با دیدنی از خوبی عالم میساز ، مهمان نظاره چون غریبان میباش

O Mazhar, be like the luckless in the world, and be like the nightingale crying for the rose.
Content your eyes with only seeing the beauty of the world,

just as the poor watch the sight like a guest (and not like an owner).

Auji Kashmiri was the son of Maulana Nami Kashmiri and commenced versification at a very early age. When he was a young man he was offered service by Mirza Jafar Asaf Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, which he accepted. This service did him considerable good as Asaf Khan's association gave him opportunities to improve himself, which Auji fully utilized. On Asaf Khan's reversion to India Auji was patronized by successive governors. He was not fond of travelling but once went as far as Lahore and soon returned to his native land. Abdun Nabi Khan Qazwini, the author of *Maikhana* (compiled in 1028 A.H., 1618 A.D.) writes that on one occasion when he was at Ajmere with Maulana Muhammad Sufi, (also called Muhammad Mazandrani) the author of *Butkhana*, an anthology, a gentleman from Kashmir came in and the talk drifted on to Auji's poetry. That gentleman read the following couplet from the *Saqinama* of Auji :

مرا دامن خویش زنجیر شد   مرا دست در آستین پیر شد

whereupon Maulana Muhammad Sufi went into raptures and remarked that if he had heard of that couplet before, he would never have written his own *Saqinama*. Qazwini further adds that he saw Auji in Kashmir when he was about fifty-five and found him paralytic using opium and that his poetry had lost its earlier charm. Probably Auji was a Shia. He wrote three thousand couplets, and finished his *Saqinama* when he was in the service of Mirza Jafar Asaf Khan. The following couplets are from his *Saqinama* :

مرا شیشه بردوش و باران سنگ   نه یارای رفتن نه پای درنگ
مرا دامن خویش زنجیر شد   مرا دست در آستین پیر شد
بیا ساقی آن روان تاک را   ضیا بخش خورشید ادراک را
بده تا بدانم که آن نوش لب   چرا می گریزد ز من بی سبب
نسیم سحر خاطر انگیز شد   ز سیمای گل آتشم تیز شد

Haji Aslam Salim was the son of Abdal Bat who had been

converted to Islam. Aslam was the pupil of Mulla Mohsin Fani. In his youth he was in India in the service of Prince Azam Shah, after whose defeat at the hands of Prince Moazzam he returned to Kashmir. His MS. *Divan* of about 700 pages is in the Punjab University Library and consists mostly of odes and quatrains but no 'qasaid'.

Khwaja Habib 'Hubbi' of Naushehra, Srinagar, is a poet of no inconsiderable merit. He was born in 963 A H. His father was a butcher by caste, and a salt merchant by profession. Hubbi was placed under the tutelage of Mulla Hasan Afaqi under whom he studied Persian and Arabic and afterwards became a disciple of Mir Muhammad Khalifa. Khwaja Habib was passionately devoted to music and died in 1027 A.H. (1617 A.D.) in the month of Zilhij in an epidemic. Hubbi was the author of *Tanbih-ul-Qulub,* a treatise on Tasawuf. He was regarded as a saint. Jahangir on one occasion went to Khwaja Habib's place when he found him engaged (سماع) in Hubbi's *Divan* is a specimen of fine poetry written in simple style and short metre yet replete with fine ideas finely put and shows the originality and freshness of his imaginative mind. I regret I forgot to copy some of his best verses.

Mulla Muhammad Taufiq belonged to the family of Judoha and resided in the vicinity of the Jami' Mosque. He was a pupil of Mulla Sat' and became a well-known poet of his time. Taufiq is regarded by some as next to Ghani. At any rate, in the time of Sukh Jewan Mal, governor during early Afghan rule, he occupied the foremost position among the poets of the day. In addition to his *Divan*, he has written treatises entitled *Shaibi*, *Sarafa*, *Bahr-i-Tawil*, etc.

می سزد فتنهٔ دوراں شدنت اے کافر   که ترا پشتی بانی است چو کاکل بر سر

O, infidel, it well behoves thee to be the cause of mischief to the world for thou hast a supporter like the curl on thy head.

بینی و چشم و دو ابروئے تو اے گل اندام   شاخ بادام و دو بادام و دو برگ بادام

Oh thou having a flower-like body, thy nose, eyes and two eyebrows are—a branch of almond, two almonds and the two leaves of almonds.

Mirza Muhtasham Khan Fida was the son of an official of rank. The letters composing Mirza Muhtasham (1146 A.H. or 1733 A.D.) constitute the date of his birth. After finishing his education he went out to Hindustan in the prime of his youth. Moin-ul-Mulk, the Governor of Lahore, was struck with his intelligence and offered him employment which the Mirza accepted. On the death of Moin-ul-Mulk, Muhtasham returned to Kashmir and entered the service of Haji Karimdad Khan the Afghan Governor of Kashmir. Muhtasham died in 1197 A.H. (1782 A.D.)

صنما براه مسجد مگذر پئی تماشا   شکنند شیخ و صوفی همه توبهٔ نصوحی

O my beloved, pass not by way of the mosque for amusement,
The Sheikh and the Sufi would give up their sincere penance.

آنراکه دل و جانش با همچو توئی باشد   درخانه توئی همدم در راه توئی همراهی

Whoever has his heart and soul devoted to one like Thee,
Finds in Thee his friend at home and a companion on the way.

از بزم حیات بادشاهان رفتند۔ در چشم زدن
نرگس چشمان و خوش نگاهان رفتند۔ چون گل ز چمن

In the twinkling of the eye, kings have passed away from the assembly of life.
Narcissus-eyed and persons of enchanting looks have gone by like flowers from the garden.

Mulla Hamidullah attracts our attention as the author of 'Chainama' in response to Zahuri's *Saqinama.*

ظهوری مگر چائی نادیده بود   ازین وصف در رز به پیچیده بود
بده ساقیا چائی تاخیر نیست   بده تلخ گر شکر و شیر نیست
اگر جم ازین خم شدی جرعه کش   غزالی شدے نبض مشار نش
به بینی که چون دیگ بق بق زند   تو گوئی که منصور انا الحق زند

Zahuri probably never knew tea, that is why he was absorbed in the grape.
Give me tea, O Saqi, and let there be no delay;
Let me have it bitter if milk and sugar are not to hand.

Had Jamshed taken a draught from this pot
His slow-beating pulse would have run like a deer.
See, how the boiling kettle of tea cries *bakh, bakh*
Verily thou wouldst say it is Mansur who is calling 'I am God'!

Mulla Hamidullah died in 1264 A.H. (1847 A.D.).

Mulla Zihni Kashmiri was also a poet of note. Abdun Nabi Qazwini in his *Maikhana* remarks that Zihni dreaded travel and never left his native place and when Qazwini saw Zihni in Kashmir the latter had written four thousand couplets but had not arranged his *Divan*. Zihni was respected for his piety and is noted for his verses in praise of the Four Caliphs of the Prophet. Baba Nasib-ud-Din Ghazi, a well-known saint of Kashmir, patronized him. Qazwini has selected the following couplets from Zihni's *Saqinama*:

شرابی که مست است از جزو و کل　　چه اصل و چه فرع و چه خار و چه گل
شرابی که گل بر دماند ز سنگ　　کشد آب حیوان ز کام نهنگ
شرابی کزو شد دل غمزده　　چو وادی ایمن تجلی کده
دماغ از شمیمش بهاری شود　　بیادش درون لاله زاری شود

Mir Abdullah Mazhai had for his *nom de plume* Faribi. He was called Mizhai as he was in the habit of twinkling his eyes almost constantly when talking. Abdun Nabi Khan says that he saw in manuscript his verses which, however, were not then arranged in the form of a *Divan* when he met him in Kashmir. Faribi also was averse to travelling. Abdun Nabi quotes the following couplet as his:

تاری از زلف تو با شانه نیامد بیرون　　که بآن صد دل دیوانه نیامد بیرون

Among the latter day poets of Kashmir Mirza Mahdi Mujrim is very well-known. Iqbal prefers him to Ghani in certain respects on account of his forceful expression. Mujrim was at first a Shia but afterwards became a Sunni and was a constant visitor to the Shrine of Hazrat Sultan-ul-Arifin.

فدا سازم دل و جان آن جفا ساز ستمگر را　　ادا و ناز چشم نیم باز غمزه پرور را
به گلشن چون روم در خاطرم آید سراپا یش　　نمی بینم گل و نسرین و شمشاد و صنوبر را

If we were to notice the poets of Kashmir who were born outside Kashmir we should have to give the place of highest honour to Iqbal but he is too well-known to need any mention here. In his *Shikwa* he says :

نغمہ ہندی ہے مگر لے تو حجازی ہے مری

But it would not be untrue to say that though his نغمہ represents the happiest blending of Eastern and Western thought his لے is the choicest expression of Kashmir genius.

Medicine in Kashmir

All the different systems of medicine among the various races of mankind from the Indus to the Atlantic, says Dr. T.A. Wise, in his *Commentary on the Hindu System of Medicine*, have a common source, being originally derived from the family of Hippocrates, who first explained the nature and treatment of diseases and reduced to theory the various phenomena of the human body. The Grecian philosophers were assisted by the Egyptian sages, who appear to have obtained much of their knowledge from some mysterious nation of the East. Egypt after having had her institutions destroyed by the sword of the conqueror became the seat of Grecian learning which was afterwards transferred to the East, where under the fostering care of the Caliphs of Baghdad who were inspired by the words of the Prophet: "Science is twofold, Theology and Medicine," medicine was cultivated with diligence and success. It received still further additions from the East, and, continues Dr. Wise, thus improved, it was conveyed by the Muhammadan conquerors into Spain where it flourished for a long time and produced a long roll of illustrious surgeons and physicians. From Spain it was communicated to other parts of Europe where if has exercised the genius of many great men with so much advantage to suffering humanity.

Among the sacred records of the Hindus there is a system of medicine, prepared at a very early period, that appears to form,

says Wise, no part of medical science, and is not supposed to have enlightened the other nations of the earth : a system for which the Hindus claim an antiquity far beyond the period to which the history of the heroic age is supposed to extend. "Insulated in their position and residing in a rich and fruitful country, the Hindus appear to have been satisfied with the knowledge and power which they had acquired at a very early period and, affectionately attached to their own country, they retained for ages their own opinions and practices, amidst various revolutions." The system is known as the Ayurvedic or the 'first born'. Biologically it means the 'knowledge of life,' from 'Ayur' life, and 'Vedic' knowledge. In the time of Buddha Indian medicine is said to have received the greatest support and stimulus but surgery was allowed to languish, for Buddha and his followers would not permit the dissection of animals. It is noteworthy that Pinjrapoles (Animal Hospitals) owe their origin to Buddha. The physicians in India continued to be more or less encouraged by the ruling chiefs in several parts of the country. But, with the advent of Islam in India, Ayurvedic medicine seems to have received a set-back even as the Indian and the Greek or Yunani systems of medicine received on the introduction of the European system, when native medicines came to be discarded in favour of ready-made preparations imported from Europe. This naturally resulted in a serious blow to Indian pharmacy. The *hakim* supplanted the *vaid*, and there were introduced into India, says the Thakore Saheb of Gondal (*A Short History of Aryan Medical Science*, 1896, p. 126) new drugs from Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan. Opium, for instance, appears to be a native of Western Asia. It was first imported into India from Arabia, and "is believed to have been favoured on account of the prohibition of wine among the Muhammadans". Some other drugs which were introduced into India during Muslim rule were : *Alu* used in bilious affections and fevers; *Badain*, a Persian drug, the oil of which is applied to the joints in rheumatism; *Banafsha*, or violet flower, employed in bilious affections and constipation; *Gaozaban* used in leprosy, hypochondriasis and syphilis; *Gul-i-Daudi* prescribed as a demulcent in gonorrhoea; *Kerba* used as anti-spasmodic and stimulant; *Kharjura* nutritive used as a dessert (*Ibid.*, p. 127).

The *hakims* were extraordinarily quick and intelligent and made use of some of the best and most effective Indian drugs and incorporated them in their works. Among the important works written by *hakim* may be mentioned *Alafazal-i-Advieh* by Nur-ud-Din Muhammad Abdullah Shirazi personal physician to the Emperor Shah Jahan. This work gives the names and properties of drugs sold in Indian bazaars. *Madan-ush-Shifa-i-Sikandar* by Khas Khan and *Tuhfa-Tul-Mominin* by Muhammad Momin are well-known works. Muhammad Akbar Arzani, court physician to Aurangzeb, wrote *Qarabadin-i-Qadri*.

Kashmir seems to have enjoyed a great reputation as the home of Ayurvedic medicine. Dridhabala, one of its ancient physicians, revised the great work of Charaka, known as *Agnivesa Samhita*. Charaka was the court physician of Kanishka. "But whether this Charaka is identical with Carakacarya the redactor of *Agnivesa Samhita* is a difficult problem in history," writes Dr. G.N. Mukerjee, M.D., the author of the *History of Indian Medicine*, to me in a letter, "and still awaits solution". Dr. Mukerjee was good enough to give me his notes on two Ayurvedic physicians who, according to him, flourished during Muslim rule, namely, Narhari Pandit, the celebrated author of *Rajnighantu* and Sri Madananga Suri, the Jain physician. There is a difference of opinion about the exact identity of Narhari Pandit as he is claimed as a Dekhani Brahmin by some scholars. The Pandit is said to have flourished during the reigns of Simha Deva and Shah Mir. Narhari is also known as Narasimhu or Narsimha and was the son of Iskara Suri, a Brahmin of Kashmir. Narhari is the author of *Nirghanturaja* which is a dictionary of *materia medica*. Madananga Suri was the other Hindu physician. He was a Jain priest who flourished in 1387 A.D. His work *Rasayana Parkana* treats of pharmaceutical preparations and uses of mineral and metallic substances.

After a big gap we come to Zain-ul-Abidin. According to Abul Fazl (*Ain*, Vol. ii, p. 288) the Sultan often personally administered medicinal remedies. Firishta says that for the encouragement of the study of medicine Zain-ul-Abidin had employed Sri Butt an eminent physician who enjoyed the special favour of the Sultan. Sri Butt was a resident of

Naushehra wherein stood the royal palaces of Badh Shah. The locality where Sri Butt's house existed is still known as *Sri Batun Wan* or *Dukan* (Sri Butt's shop).

There is another gap and we come to the Mughal period. Khwaja Abdullah Ghazi, a native of Kashmir, acquired medical knowledge under Hakim Danishmand Khan of Delhi. Khwaja Abdullah after completion of his medical studies distinguished himself as a great diagnostician and wrote books on medicine and had several old medical manuscripts re-copied for general public use. His annotations of *Mojiz*, *Aqsarai* and *Qanun*, well-known books on medicine, were used by students of the healing art. Baba Majnun Narvari, a resident of Mohallah Narvar, near 'Idgah' in Srinagar, studied medicine from Khwaja Abdullah Ghazi, after having had his general education under Mulla Abul Qasim ibn Akhund Mulla Jamal-ud-Din of Sialkot. He gave free consultation, free medicine and free tuition to all who came to him. Baba Majnun was the son of Baba Muhammad Haji and the grandson of Sheikh Mas'ud Narvari who was one of the well-known *mashaikh* of his age. Hakim Muhammad Sharif Ganai, Hakim Abdur Rahim Ashai took pride in being his pupils. Baba Majnun died in 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.).

Hakim Abdul Qadir Ganai who wrote a commentary on *Tib-i-Nabavi*, was also a pupil of Baba Majnun and had his residence in Mohalla Jamalatta (Naukadal). Hakim Inayatullah Ganai who began his practice in Kashmir during the last days of Aurangzeb was the son of Hakim Muhammad Sharif Ganai. He was a great *nabbaz* (pulse) expert and had friendly relations with Jafar Khan, the Governor of Kashmir. Inayatullah died in 1125 A.H. during the reign of Farrukh Siyar. He was also a student of astronomy and astrology. Perhaps the best known *hakim* of the Afghan period was Muhammad Javad. There is a curious tradition which says that he happened to meet a Pandit who had painted the *tika* on his forehead in the morning but it had not dried up even though it was nearly noon. The Hakim directed the Pandit to return home at once telling him that he was wanted there immediately. Strange to say the Pandit died of heart failure on arrival at home. This tradition is cited as a proof of the Hakim's ability to diagnose serious cases at sight. Hakim Muhammad Javad's son, Hakim Muham-

mad Azim, rose to the position of the Chief Physician of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore. The Hakim was a great scholar of Arabic and a poet too. Like his father there is a curious tradition about him also. It is said that while going in a boat he saw a man bathing at a *ghat* on the river and perceived that he was suffering from a certain disease of which the man himself seemed quite ignorant. The Hakim stopped his boat and warned the man that he would have serious trouble if he did not immediately rub fresh cow-dung on his body and then sit in the sun till the cow-dung dried up completely and fell off his body. The man obeyed the Hakim and when the dried cow-dung fell off his body it was found full of lice.

Hakim Ali Naqi was a well-known Shia physician, who was equally popular both with the Shias and Sunnis of his time on account of his skill and died in 1198 A.H. (1783 A.D.). He is said to have cured a patient suffering from double pneumonia and given up as hopeless by an English doctor. Hakim Nur-ud-Din Rainawari belonged to Pampur. His family was a family of physicians and had produced Hakim Ghulam Rasul, Hakim Baqaullah and Hakim Yusuf. Nur-ud-Din's own three sons, Hakim Mustafa Shah, Hakim Waliullah, and Hakim Bahar Shah were all noted *hakims*. Mulla Abdul Quddus was Nur-ud-Din's teacher.

Hakim Dindar Shah was appointed as his personal physician by Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din, the Sikh Governor of Kashmir, on account of his skill in the healing art. His two sons, Maqbul Shah and Mustafa were popular *hakims* of recent times. Coming to Dogra rule we find that the most respected and the most learned *hakim* was Muhammad Baqir, Chief Hakim to Maharaja Ranbir Singh, and had the title of Afsar-ul-Atibba. He had charge of the Translation Bureau established by the Maharaja for the translation of *Tib-i-Yunani* from Arabic and Latin into Persian and Dogri. It is related of him that he once cured a paralytic patient by applying living wasps to the parts of his body that suffered from paralysis.

It appears that the course of instruction of a *hakim* during Muslim rule was the same as in India. Students of medicine studied the texts from learned scholars of Arabic and acquired practical knowledge under the guidance of well-known *hakims*,

whose residential quarters were used for the preparation of medicine and neighbouring houses utilized for patients who required continuous attention from the *hakim* as is still the custom of old Yunani *hakims* in Lahore, Delhi and Lucknow.

Now a word about the present condition of *Yunani* medicine in Kashmir. In Srinagar and other larger towns Kashmiris usually resort to *hakims*, many of whom, says Lawrence, are men of considerable ability and experience and are said to number 300 in Kashmir. As a rule, the profession is hereditary. The *hakims*, continues Lawrence, have a considerable knowledge of herbs and their herb-collectors are shepherds who spend the summer on the high mountains where the most valued plants are found. The visiting fee of the *hakim* is a very small one though he makes some money, like his Indian prototype, by compounding medicines. He, however, does not practise surgery. Chob-i-Chin, a kind of root brought from China and administered locally is the *hakim's* sovereign remedy for a number of ailments !

The root of the 'koth' (old form 'kustha'), a plant grown at a height of eight to nine thousand feet is another important medicine having many properties, 'tonic, aromatic and stimulant'. It is used as an ingredient in a stimulating mixture for cholera, and is applied in cases of toothache and rheumatism. The root of the 'koth' or 'chob-i-koth' finds its way to China (as a return for 'Chob-i-Chin') and the Red Sea via Calcutta and Bombay respectively. The 'hund' is used in cases of confinement.

This present condition of Yunani medicine in Kashmir is obviously very unsatisfactory and I believe if properly selected students from the valley were sent out to the Delhi Tibbia College, the profession would regain its lost position and people would again begin to repose confidence in the efficiency of the *hakim*.

8

Arts and Crafts Under Muslim Rule

Within about eighty years after the death of Muhammad in 632 A.D. the followers of his religion, says Vincent A. Smith,[1] reigned supreme over Arabia, Persia, Syria, Western Turkistan, Sind, Egypt, North Africa, and Southern Spain, the marvellously rapid extension of Muhammadan power having been rendered possible by the barbarism and weakness of the subjugated kingdoms in Asia, Africa and Europe. The first contact of Islam, as M.M. Le Bon and Saladin observe, was stimulating to what remained alive of the older forms of civilization. Muslim armies, recruited in Persia, Syria and Egypt, carried with them crowds of Asiatic skilled craftsmen, who introduced everywhere the arts of Asia and modified the various local forms of arts so as to suit the needs of the new faith and satisfy the luxurious tastes of magnificent courts. The Arabs, although possessing little art of their own, continues Smith, succeeded in impressing upon the local styles which they utilized for Muslim purposes a general character of uniformity which is now recognised as that of Muslim art.

Kashmir was not obviously affected immediately. It was left for the days when the glories of Samarqand and Bokhara were

1 *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 391.

sung all over the Islamic world and the arts and crafts of those places penetrated every nook and corner of Central Asia that Kashmir received its most powerful impact from the beneficent forces of Islam and came in almost direct contact with the stage of culture Islam had then achieved. And the slumbering genius of the people of the Happy Valley was awakened to a degree that excited the admiration of the world when Zain-ul-Abidin ruled the land.

The arts and crafts of Kashmir manifest the artistic expression of the imagination and the soul of the people of the valley and are a mirror of their culture and sentiments, and have evidently passed through several phases and many different schools. A detailed description of this would perhaps require a volume but unfortunately material is not so readily available for it in one place. Taken as a whole, the arts and crafts have known the lyric, the romantic and the realistic phases. The lyric period in the case of shawls and carpets is essentially marked by great richness of colour and by sobriety of line. The artists appear to have held less in consideration the symmetry and harmony of colours than the terrible exaltation of their passions which they manifested in symbols sometimes really sublimely expressed. In the romantic period harmony and symmetry dominate. The vivacity and profusion of colour, predominating in the lyric period, are sacrificed to a certain meditative sobriety and profound melancholy and the work abounds in religious subjects and philosophic symbols. The realistic period is a mixture of the two preceding phases. It brings nothing new except that it purifies the violence and confusion of the lyric period while respecting certain features. It gives an effect which pleases the eye and is more pleasant in appearance but it is largely decorative and has little of real meaning.

These periods may roughly be likened to the pre-Mughal, Mughal and post-Mughal days of Kashmir history.

Both shawls and carpets manifest, as it were, the allegorical language of the passions and the virtues of the people of Kashmir. Some of the productions tell the story of the lives of famous personages, others depict historical episodes, poetic fantasies or religious and philosophic themes. All these emana-

ted from the mind of the designer or the 'naqqash' who employed free hand with an accuracy which defies the use of the present day complicated geometrical apparatus. He was inspired by nature which was his tutor. A masterpiece of Kashmiri carpet once so charmed Ranjit Singh that he involuntarily rolled himself on it in great joy. The Ardbil mosque carpet of Kashmir was purchased for the Victoria and Albert Museum for 2,000 pounds.

What reputation Kashmir acquired in arts and crafts by its impact with Islam we shall discuss in the following pages beginning with the queen of arts, namely, architecture, or to be more accurate what is more commonly known as the wooden architecture of Kashmir. It may be noted that we shall in this Chapter treat of such arts and crafts as were either directly introduced during, or flourished in the course of, Muslim rule in Kashmir or are at present practised chiefly by Musalmans in the valley.

Architecture

Muhammadan architecture in Kashmir must be pronounced as rather disappointing in comparison with the grand edifices of Hindu rule like the temples at Martanda, Avantipur and elsewhere. Even for an ordinary hill fort on Hariparbat Akbar had to import a large number of masons from India as one can see from the inscription on the Kathi Darwaza of the fort. The art of masonry seems to have died long before the death of Hindu rule in the valley : but the wooden* architecture of Kashmir that commands our admiration to this day originated with the Muhammadans, and it appears that the Kashmiri Hindu mason of old had his re-birth in the Muslim carpenter of the latter-day rule. Muhammadan architecture in Kashmir, broadly speaking, says Mr. W.H. Nicholls,[2] falls under three heads, the pre-Mughal masonry style, the wooden style, and the pure Mughal style.

Of the first, the two most notable examples are the tomb of

1 Buddhists also had their own style of wooden architecture.

2 Archaeological Survey Report for 1906-07, p. 161.

Zain-ul-Abidin's mother and the tomb of Madani, both in Srinagar. The principal features of the first tomb are "the glazed and moulded blue bricks, which are studded at intervals in the exterior walls, the semi-circular brick projections on the drum of the main dome, and the moulded brick string courses and sunk panels on the drums of the cupolas". The structure is said to have been raised on the plinth of a Hindu temple.

The tomb of Madani near But Kadal in Srinagar is a small building quite neglected and very dilapidated. Yet it possesses, says Mr. Nicholls,[3] a feature of extraordinary value and interest in its coloured tilework, fragment of which are still adhering to its walls. The tilework is made in squares with various brilliant colours in contact with each other on the same piece of tile. But its great interest lies in the subject which is represented in the southern half of the spandrel of the great archway in the east facade. The representation is that of a strange beast. Besides this spandrel, there is more tilework in the building, thus showing that tilework was used on masonry buildings in Kashmir before Mughal days. The tomb is supposed to have been built about 1444 A.D. in the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin. Jahangir bears testimony to the remains of the Zain-ul-Abidin's other buildings which were still to be seen in Kashmir during the gay Emperor's visits.

A very distinctive style is that of the wooden architecture of Kashmir of which not much is known to the outside world. Fergusson, the historian of Indian Architecture, was of opinion that the wooden architecture of Kashmir was deserving of full investigation. Cunningham and Cole in their accounts of the antiquities of Kashmir dealt almost exclusively with Hindu and Buddhist monuments and left the wooden style, practically unnoticed.

This wooden style, as already stated, owed its origin to Muhammadans. The consistent use of Saracenic detail and the application of the style to Muhammadan tombs and mosques and not to Hindu structures is in itself proof positive as to who originally introduced it.

A wooden style existed in the days of Zain-ul-Abidin who

3*Ibid.*, p. 162.

made a palace all of wood.[4] Mirza Haidar[5] in his *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, describes it in the following words:

"Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin erected a palace in the middle of the Wular lake. First of all he emptied a quantity of stones into the lake and on those constructed a foundation or floor of closely-fitting stones measuring two hundred square *gaz* in extent and ten *gaz* in height. Hereupon he built a charming palace and planted pleasant groves of trees, so that there can be but few more agreeable places in the world. He then built himself a palace (named after him Zaina Dab) in his town of Naushahr which in the dialect of Kashmir is called *Rajdan*. It has twelve stories some of which contain fifty rooms, halls and corridors. The whole of this lofty structure is built of wood. Among the vast Kiosks of the world are: in Tabriz, the Hasht Bihisht Kiosk of Sultan Yakub; in Herat the Bagh-i-Khan, the Bagh-i-Safid, and the Bhagh-i-Shahr; and in Samarqand the Kuk Sarai and the Ak Sarai, the Bagh-i-Dilkushai, and the Bagh-i-Buldi. Though the Rajdan is more lofty and contains more rooms than all these, yet it has not their elegance and style. It is, nevertheless, a more wonderful structure."

Mirza Haider[6] in another place adds: "In the town there are many lofty buildings constructed of fresh cut pine. Most of these are at least five storeys high, each storey contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers. The beauty of their exterior defies description, and all who behold them for the first time, bite the finger of astonishment with the teeth of admiration."

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin also built a three storeyed house on a small island in the Dal, called Suna Lank. The house tumbled down in an earthquake. Jahangir built a cottage here but that too has vanished. The Suna Lank can be seen from the Nasim Bagh and lies in the centre of the Dal. It was raised by the Sultan in 1421 A.D. in order to give shelter to boats in distress. Rop Lank was also built by Sultan Hasan Shah in the Dal.

The earliest genuine example of the wooden style in Srinagar is the Mosque of Madani, close to his tomb, built about 1444

4 Arch aeological Survey Report 1906-07, p. 165.
5 Eng. Translation by Elias and Ross, 1895, p. 425.
6 Elias and Ross, p. 425.

A.D. Syed Muhammad Madani first came from Medina during the reign of Sikandar, as an envoy from the ruler of that place. The Jama Masjid of Srinagar, another instance of the wooden style, has a history of its own. Verses on the door of the mosque state that the mosque was originally built by Sultan Sikandar in 801 A.H.[7] (corresponding to 1398 A.D.) and completed in 804 A.H. that it was again built by Sultan Hasan Shah, the grandson of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin and that it was finally finished by Abrahim and Ahmad Magre. In 909 A.H. the mosque was burnt down and in 1029 A.H. or 1620 A.D. it was again destroyed by fire during the time of Jahangir, just on the day of Eid-i-Ramzan, when the Emperor who was then in Kashmir himself took part in extinguishing flames. Jahangir ordered its reconstruction which was carried out in 17 years under the supervision of the historian Rais-ul-Mulk Haidar Malik of Chadaura. In 1084 A.H. or 1674 A.D. the mosque was burnt down during the reign of Aurangzeb and rebuilt. In order that there be no recurrence of fire, houses all-around the mosque were pulled down. During Pathan rule the mosque was twice repaired once by Haji Karim Dad Khan and the second time by Sardar Azad Khan in 1190 A.H. and in 1203 A.H. respectively. In the time of the Sikhs, the mosque was closed under the orders of Diwan Moti Ram in 1820 A.D. and remained so for twenty-three years until the time of Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud Din, the Governor of Ranjit Singh. It had fallen into disrepair but on account of the efforts of Sheikh Maqbul Husain, Revenue Minister in recent years, it is being restored by subscription raised by the zamindars of the valley and with the consultation of the Archaeological Department of the Government of India.

The grandeur of the Jama Masjid lies in its four cloisters each about 120 yards in length supported by ground pillars of deodar-wood of great height, and in its spacious quadrangle. "The lofty pillars in the propylons, the details of the spires and the uniformity of the whole design prove that the builders knew what

7 A suggested chronogram is جامع مسجد کشمیری

vide Sheikh Maqbul Husain's *Masjid-i-Jami*, 1916, p. 3.

they were about from plinth to finial—that they were reproducing forms of which they were masters." Sultan Sikandar had constructed a grand seminary to the north of the mosque, under the Principalship of Qazi Mir Muhammad Ali Bokhari.

The heavy corbelled cornice at Shah Hamadan's Mosque bears a strong resemblance to that of the mosque of Madani and a similar little mosque at Pampur, which go to confirm the view that the mosque of Shah Hamadan is a truthful example of the style of wooden architecture of Kashmir. Some travellers suggest that this wooden style indicates a Chinese origin but according to Mr. Nicholls it would not be unreasonable to suspect that the wooden style of Kashmir owes much of its character to influence from Ghazni.

The Mughal style as exemplified by buildings in Kashmir is practically the same as that of the buildings at Delhi and Agra, with this difference—that marble has not been employed in Kashmir buildings on account of difficulties of transport. The Pathar Masjid built by Nur Jahan, the mosque of Akhun Mulla Shah, (built later) and the large "baradari" in Shalamar are—says Mr. Nicholls,—unsurpassed in purity of style and perfection of detail by any buildings in Agra or Delhi. The earliest Mughal building in Srinagar is the outer wall round Hari Parbat which was built by Akbar in 1596 A.D. as already noticed elsewhere.

The ruined Pari Mahal (or fairies' palace) also called 'Qutilun' on a spur of the Zebanwan mountain is a memorial of the Mughal love for letters. It was a residential school of Sufiism and not of astrology (as some wrongly call it) built by Prince Dara Shikoh at the instance of his tutor, Akhund Mulla Muhammad Shah Badakhshani.

The summer-house of Jahangir at Verinag is now a heap of ruin, though the "baradari" at Achhabal is still in existence.

The "hammam" or the Turkish bath is a great institution in Kashmir and was introduced by Mirza Haidar Doghlat (vide *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, p. 160).

Bridges

Srinagar has at present seven bridges across the Jhelum. Their number, says Stein[8], has remained unchanged for at least five hundred years. Zain-ul-Abidin constructed the first[9] permanent bridge over the river named after him Zainakadal. It was made of wood and showed the same peculiar Cantilever construction which is observed in Kashmir bridges of our day that have attracted the attention of all modern travellers. And it is curious that none of them can be traced back beyond[10] the time of Zain-ul-Abidin. The explanation may be in the fact that stone architectutre, in which the engineers of the Hindu period were so proficient, did not permit of the construction of bridges with sufficient span. For their Muhammadan successors working chiefly in wood it was easier to overcome this difficulty. Sir Percy Sykes thinks it probable (vide his recent paper on *The Roof of the World*) that the system of cantilever bridges was invented in the heart of Asia.

In Zain-ul-Abidin's time, the waters of the Dal flowed into the Jhelum past the Haba Kadal, but the Sultan closed this channel and forced the water into the Nallah Mar which he spanned with seven bridges of masonry. He also raised a grand causeway from Andarkot to Sopur.

The bridges of Kashmir, says Lawrence[11], are cheap, effective picturesque and in their construction ingenious. The secret of their stability may perhaps be attributed to the skeleton piers offering little or no resistance to the large volume of water brought down at flood-time.

Sculpture

On account of the prohibition oi images, sculpture in the sense in which it is ordinarily understood does not find a place in the scheme of Muslim Fine Arts. It is true that the prohibition

8 *Rajatrangini*, English Translation, Vol. 2, p. 449.

9 *Rajatrangini*, English Translation, Vol. 2, p. 449. Some say that Ali Kadal was the first bridge built by Ali Shah, the predecessor of Zain-ul-Abidin.

10 *Rajatrangini*, English Translation, Vol. 2, p. 449.

11 The *Valley*, pp. 37-38.

though generally respected has been occasionally disregarded. But that therefore hardly calls for serious attention. In India the examples of sculpture or of high relief are consequently very few but decorative reliefs may be seen anywhere. The Arabic alphabet in its various forms as used for writing both in the Arabic and Persian scripts is so well-adapted for decorative purposes that almost every Muhammadan building of importance is freely adorned with texts from the *Quran* or other inscriptions arranged decoratively to form part of the architectural design.

Musalman figure sculpture in the round, says Vincent A. Smith (*A History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, p 428), has slight artistic value and is interesting chiefly as a curiosity, but Musalman decorative sculpture in base relief applied to architecture may fairly claim on its merits to take at least equal rank with first-rate Italian work of the kind. The general absence of all human interest and expression in the infinitely varied patterns is, of course, a grear drawback, but, continues Smith, if we are content to regard the works simply as surface decoration intended to please the eye they cannot be beaten. Among all the many varieties of Muhammadan decorative designs none are more agreeable than the best of those carved in relief on the Mughal buildings from the time of Akbar to that of Shah Jahan.

As regard lattices, Smith is of opinion that Muslim architects developed the art of designing and executing stone lattices to a degree of perfection unknown to other schools. Geometrical patterns very pleasing to look at are the most characteristic forms of Muhammadan lattice work. The artists used the lattice not only for window but also for the panels of doors and for screens or railings round tombs with excellent effect. Specimens of the three types of sculpture discussed above may be seen to this day in Kashmir. Muhammad Murad and his younger brother Mulla Mohsin wrote most of the inscriptions in gardens and other buildings during the days of the Mughals. Lattice work is still preserved in some of the Mughal gardens and Kashmir cemetries testify to the Kashmiri's sculptural skill in the preparation of cenotaphs, though the more ordinary ones are somewhat clumsy. The usual custom of having a *qalamdan* or

penbox sculptured on top of men's cenotaphs and a *takhti* or slate on those of women's is observed in Kashmır also.

The central 'mihrab' of the Jama Masjid, now being reconstructed, has provided the Kashmiri sculptor with an opportunity for the display of his workmanship in black stone and the 'Mihrab' is a work of great beauty, dignity and grace.

Under sculpture we must not omit to mention the lapidiary (Hakak) of Srinagar who possesses very great skill and is specially proficient as a seal-cutter. He imports all his more valuable stones such as agate, bloodstone, cornelian, cat's eye, garnet, lapis-lazuli, onyx, opal, rock crystal, and turquoise from Badakhshan, Bokhara, and Yarqand. There are however certain local stones for ornaments and buttons. These are soft and incapable of a high polish. Among the more common Lawrence mentions Takht-i-Sulaiman, Sang-i-Musa, Bilor, Sang-i-Sumak, Sang-i-Shalamar, Sang-i-Ratel, Sang-i-Nadid. Besides these a kind of jade which used to be employed for flint locks is brought from the Wastarwan mountain and from the same locality a kind of moss agate is procured. Cups and plates are made of a stone known as Sang-i-Nalchan. The stone is so soft that it can be cut like wood. It is a kind of soap-stone, grey, yellow and green in colour. Sang-i-Dalam is obtained from a place near Verinag and is used by goldsmiths. Sang-i-Baswatri is a yellow stone used in medicine.

Gardens

Flowers and plants have been admired and cultivated in India from very early times and there are many references to gardens in the old Buddhist literature and the Sanskrit plays. The sacred groves round the Buddhist shrines were probably among the earliest forms of gardening, but it was from the North, from Central Asia and Persia, says Mrs. Stuart,[12] that the splendid garden traditions were introduced into India, taking root under the various Muhammadan conquerors and developing into a native style which culminated in the beautiful Kashmir Gardens built by Jahangir and Nur Jahan.

12 C.M.V. Stuart's *Gardens of the Great Moghuls*, p. 4.

The Turks in India, usually erroneously called Pathans, showed themselves magnificent builders as their massive forts and mosques still attest, and some of the grandest and most beautiful buildings in India belong to their period of sovereignty but their surrounding gardens have nearly all disappeared through neglect and decay and wars and quarrels left little of the peace and leisure that garden-craft demands. Still the peaceful reign of Feroz Shah from 1351 to 1388 A.D. gave Delhi a hundred gardens which he built round his capital at Ferozabad. A couple of centuries later Babur built on the banks of the Jamuna, in Agra, the earliest of Mughal gardens in India, which exists to this day and is known as Rambagh.

In Persia and Turkistan the art of building irrigated gardens was at that time very fully developed and had behind it an ancient history and long unbroken traditions, and the writings of Persian poets so full of evident delight in the flowers and gardens of their day unmistakeably show that the poetic imagery they inspired was due to these fragrant gardens of the *Bulbul* and the rose. Intense appreciation of flowers seems to have been very general all over Central Asia and may be traced to the two great influences which underlie all national arts—climate and religion. What is a paradise after all? Is it not a highly refined and luxurious garden?

The spirit of the garden-paradises of Europe[13] is said to be hidden in the flowers, the grass, the trees, but the soul of an eastern garden lies in none of these : it is centred in the running water which alone makes its other beauties possible.

The vivid description of Mughal gardens by Stuart is well worth reproduction. The Mughal gardens, copied from the earliest gardens of Turkistan and Persia, she says,[14] are generally square or rectangular in shape, their area being divided into a series of smaller square parterres. The water runs in a trim stone or brick-edged canal down the whole length, falling from level to level in smooth cascades, or rushing in a tumult of white foam over carved water chutes (chaddars). Below many of these waterfalls, the canal flows into a larger or smaller tank,

13 Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Moghuls*, p. 10.
14 Stuart, *Gardens of the Great Moghuls*, pp. 14-15, 19.

called *hauz*, usually studded with numerous small fountains. The principal pavilion is often placed in the centre of the largest of these sheets of water, forming a cool, airy retreat from the rays of the midday sun, where the inmates of the garden might be lulled to sleep by the roar of the cascades, while the misty spray of the fountains, drifting in through the arches of the building, tempered the heat of a burning noontide. There are shady walks, pergolas of vines and flowers, here and there open squares of turf shaded by large trees planted at the corners or having one central *chenar* surrounded by a raised platform or masonry or grass, which forms a free space for feasts and fetes. Here one could recline at ease on the soft turf or seated on brilliant carpets, enjoy the charm of conversation and the *hooka* and indulge in musical parties, or while away the cool evenings with recitations from the favourite Persian poets or by chanting rhymes of one's own making.

Town planning, about which there has been so much talk in the West in recent years, was an art carried out on a grand scale by the Great Emperors of India and Persia.[15]

Lawrence says that Zain-ul-Abidin planted gardens wherever he went: four of his gardens were, however, well-known: Bagh-i-Zainagir, Bagh-i-Zaina Dab in Naushahr, Bagh-i-Zainapur, and Bagh-i-Zainakot but it is difficult to trace them out now. The same is the case with the gardens of the Chaks, namely, Bagh-i-Yusuf Shah and Bagh-i-Husain Shah. We have, therefore, to turn to Akbar who was the first Mughal Emperor to enter Kashmir. Nasim Bagh, Akbar's garden (according to another account Shah Jahan's who laid it out in 1045 A.H. or 1635 A.D.) stands in a fine open position well raised above the Dal, and takes its name from the cool breezes that blow all day long under its trees. Its walls, canals and fountains have disappeared. All-around the sides of the Dal there are broken walls, and terraces, the remains of early Mughal gardens. The famous Shalamar lies at the far end of the Dal. According to a legend, Pravarsena II, the founder of the city of Srinagar, who reigned in Kashmir from 79 to 139 A.D. had built a villa on the edge of the lake, calling it Shalamar which in Sanskrit is said to mean

15 *Ibid.*, p. 23.

"the abode or hall of love". In course of time the royal garden vanished but the village that had sprung up was called Shalamar after it. Jahangir laid out a garden on this same old site in 1621 A.D. and called it Farah Bakhsh, delightful. *Farahatgah-i-Shahi* gives the date as 1031 A.H. The present enclosure of the garden is 590 yards long and 267 yards broad divided into three separate parts : the outer garden, the central or Emperor's garden and last and most beautiful of the three, the garden for the special use of the Empress and her ladies, this last being an extension by Zafar Khan, under the orders of Shah Jahan, in 1042 A.H. (1632 A.D.)

A subtle air of leisure and repose, a romantic undefinable spell, says Stuart, pervades the royal Shalamar: this leafy garden of dim vistas, shallow terraces, smooth sheets of falling water, and wide canals, with calm reflections broken only by the stepping stones across the streams. Imagine Nur Jahan and the ladies of her court moving about in moonlight nights under the clear skies, the snows silhouetted in soft "moonstone" blues, while the water's silver tinkle alone broke the stillness as the little waterfalls splashed over marble and fern grottos. To breath the air of Shalamar is to breathe poetry and cantos could be sung of its charm, colour and majesty in verse. Urfi's line fitly applies to Shalamar:

این سبزه و این چشمهٔ و این لاله و این گل ، آن شرح ندارد که به گفتار در آید

A complete contrast is offered by the Nishat, (laid out in 1044 A.H.) which is an equally beautiful garden on the Dal built by Asaf Khan, Nur Jahan's brother. It is perhaps the gayest of all Mughal gardens. Its twelve terraces, one for each sign of the zodiac, rise dramatically higher up the mountain side from the eastern shore of the lake. "The stream," so graphically describes Stuart, "tears foaming down the carved cascades, fountains play in every tank and water-course, filling the garden with their joyous life and movement." "The flower beds on those sunny terraces," continues Mrs. Stuart, "blaze with colour—roses, lilies geraniums, asters, gorgeous tall-growing

zinnias and feathery cosmos, pink and white.[16] Beautiful at all times, when autumn lights up the poplars in clear gold and the big chenars burn red against the dark blue rock background, there are few more brilliant, more breathlessly entrancing sights than this first view of Asaf Khan's Garden of Gladness." Iqbal has truly said:

توگوئی کہ یزداں بہشت بریں را ۔ نہاداست در دامن کوہسارے

High up in a hollow of the mountains which overlook the lotus fields of the Dal is the Chashma-i-Shahi, the little garden of the Royal Spring. Very few of the smaller pleasure-grounds have survived, but the garden of the Chashma-i-Shahi shows that a Mughal Garden need not necessarily be large to prove attractive.

Shah Jahan built a pavilion and laid out this little garden of the Chashma-i-Shahi with fountains and waterfalls, in three terraces ; and here one may still pass a day of enjoyment, and drink of the spring which gushes forth with the same purity and unfailing abundance as it did in his day. The digestive and curative properties of the water make it all the more valuable to the sick or suffering visitor. It was laid out in 1042 A.H. (1632 A.D.) : Kausar-i-Shahi is the chronogram.

The lover of flowers and running water must now repair to Verinag and Achhabal in the Islamabad or Anantnag tehsil.

For those who feel the charm of solitude in a beautiful setting, Verinag is still an enchanting place to pass the early summer days. Its deep, blue waters give life to the valley for here it is that the beautiful Jhelum has its source. Its octagonal stone basin 10 feet deep was constructed by Jahangir in 1612 A.D. The fine garden with fountains, aqueducts and a cascade, in front of the spring was laid out by Shah Jahan about 1619 A.D. The gushing waters of Kokarnag a few miles afar from Verinag would well repay a visit and the very sight of milky water and its spray would remove all fatigue and give delight and coolness to the jaded eye. It is rightly given the first place as a source of

16 For a detailed study of some of the flowers of the valley see *Wild Flowers of Kashmir* by B.O.C. Coventry, 1923, London.

drinking water. Abul Fazl has called its water limpid, cold and wholesome, and says that, should a hungry person drink of it, his hunger will be appeased and its satisfaction in turn will renew appetite.

The beauty of Achhabal lies in its spring or rather stream which gushes out of the Sosanwore hill with great force and was at once 'enlisted by Jahangir in the service of beauty and pleasure'. It is a delicious and remarkable sight. At the head of the spring is the mountain-side covered with deodar forest.

There are no other gardens, says Sir John Marshall,[17] perhaps in all Asia round which history and legend have woven so much romance, which nature and men have combined to make so lovely. The gardens of the Taj at Agra of Shalamar or Shahdra at Lahore are beautiful of their kind but they can never hope to rival their sisters in Kashmir, because they lack entirely the majestic surroundings of mountain, pine forest and snowfield, in which the latter are set ; and because no flowers or grass or tree can ever attain the same perfection in the plains of India as they can in the highlands of Kashmir.

Music

Kashmiris are generally reported to be devoid of the musical faculty. It is commonly said that in bygone ages, music had its birth in the Deccan, attained youth in the United Provinces, reached old age in the Punjab, and eventually died in Kashmir. No true Kashmiri would admit the point of this remark. The statement, coming as it does from Indian musicians, means that Kashmiri music does not appeal to an average Indian musician. But it would be readily admitted that the Indian musician is hardly a judge of all kinds of music. It is, for instance, rather hard for him to appreciate and enjoy the beauties of English music; for him the rhythm and harmony of English music is no better than noise. The peculiarities of Kashmiri music, likewise, do not sound well to the ears of the Indian musician but they are nonetheless musical for it. It is a significant fact that the great Sarang Dev, who lived in the former half of the thirteenth

17 Annual Report on Archaeology in India, 1906-07, p. 9.

century (1210-47 A.D.) at the court of the Yadava dynasty of Devagiri in the Deccan, and was the author of *Ratangar*, a well-known Sanskrit book on Indian music, was a native of Kashmir as borne out by Captain C. R. Day in his *Music and Musical Instruments of Southern India and the Deccan.*

It is to the credit of the musicians of Kashmir that they have assimilated some of the best *ragas* and *raganis* of Indian music. The Indian *raganis* which are generally sung by Kashmiris are: Kalyan, Nat Kalyan, Khamach, Bihhag, Jhajuti, Balawal, Husaini Todi, Asawari, Tilang, Udasi, Purabi, Sohni, Surath, Kaligri, Dhanasri, Bahagra, Aimin Kalyan.

In this connection, it must be borne in mind that Amir Khusro, the famous poet and musician, introduced *Ghazal* and *Kafi* into Indian music. He also invented the *Sitar* (originally *Sih tar* or three strings). It was at the time when this great musician lived that most of the *raganis* were adapted by Kashmiris.

The Kashmiri musicians are also familiar with some of the *talas* (timings) of Indian music which are *yakka* or *duggan*, *doravi* or *tintala* and *mimdaur* or *chanchala*.

The Kashmiris have long adapted and assimilated the best types of Persian music. Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin had a great love for music and he always made generous allowances to musicians. Hearing of the Sultan's generosity and of his love for music a good many *Sazandas* (Players) and *Goyandas* (Chanters) flocked to Kashmir from all directions. One of such musicians was Mulla Udi of Khorasan. He was the immediate pupil of the celebrated Khwaja Abdul Qadir and was an excellent player on *Ud*, the lute. Mulla Udi played upon the *Ud* to the great delight of the Sultan and his courtiers. The Mulla was on all occasions most amply rewarded by the Sultan for his performances.

In these days there was also in the court of the Sultan one Mulla Jamil[8] the poet-musician who was a great expert in vocal music and was possessed of a beautiful voice. The Sultan was always kind to him and paid him handsomely for his skill in the art of music.

During the reign of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin there was a great

18 *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Bakhshi Nizam-ud-Din. Litho., p. 603.

influx into Kashmir of expert dancers both male and female. The Sultan encouraged the art of dancing by paying all dancers liberally and by employing the best ones in his service. He was so great a lover of music and so enamoured of this art that whenever he was pleased with musicians he used to order that their musical instruments, e.g., *Bin*, *Rabab*, etc., be decorated and inlaid with gold.

There was, at this time, in the court of the Sultan a poet named Sahram, (or Soma or Dasum) who used to write verses in the Kashmiri language. He was also a scholar of Indian sciences, and was the author of the biography of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. He also wrote a book named *Manak* on music which he dedicated to the Sultan. According to another account[19] the book was named *Zaincharit* and was written by Budi Butt. Sahram was a great favourite of the Sultan on account of his great talents, especially for his knowledge of music. When Dongar Sen, the Raja of Gwalior, heard of the Sultan's taste for music he sent him all standard books on Indian music ; Gwalior it may be remembered, has been known as the home of music and musicians and is proud of its association with Mian Tan Sen. Music thus flourished in the days of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. It was indeed due to him that music reached the pitch of excellence it attained to in Kashmir.

According to Abul Fazl[20] schools of music were founded in Kashmir by Irani and Turani musicians under the patronage of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin. As a direct result of the influence of Persian and Turanian music, a good many *raganis* were thus imported into Kashmiri music. The *raganis* of Persian origin which are well-known to the musicians are; *Saga*, *Rast*, *Kashmiri Rast*, *Chargah*, *Iraq*, *Nawa*, *Rihai*, *Shah Nawaz*, *Nauroz*, *Nairez*, and *Zangola*[21] (or Jungla of present day Indian Music).

The principal musical instruments known to Kashmiri musicians are—*Gichak* which resembles the Indian *sarangi* but is somewhat bigger. It is played upon by a bow; *Sitar* which is

19 *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi* (or Tarikh-i-Firishta.) Litho, p. 344.
20 See Blochman's *Ain-i-Akbari*, Footnote, p. 611.
21 This is borne out by Maulvi Abdul Halim Sharar's interesting article on "The Influence of Persian Music on Indian Music." The article was originally written for the Baroda Musical Conference.

smaller than the Indian sitar ; *Sadtara* or an instrument with hundred strings has بم وزیر . It is a fine instrument and sounds like a harp when played upon.

It is a highly significant fact that all Kashmiri musicians and *ragis* are invariably Muhammadans. The Kashmiri Pandits know nothing of the beauties of *raga*. The Pandits read the Ashlokas and Mantras in a set musical voice but the intricacies and complexities of *raga* are a sealed book to them.[22]

Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin's grandson, Sultan Hasan Shah, was also a great patron of music. At his court here were twelve hundred musicians from Hindustan. Mirza Haidar Doghlat during his stay in Kashmir also devoted much of his time and attention to music. A revival of Indian music then came about in the days of Akbar who likewise paid much attention to it and was the patron of all who practised the art. There were numerous musicians at court, Hindus, Iranis, Turanis and Kashmiris and were arranged in seven divisions one for each day of the week. The genius of Mian Tan Sen who became Muhammadan and assumed or was given the title of Mirza, breathed a new life into Indian music by introducing great development into it. Music thus regained perfection and glory and was modernized to suit Muslim taste.[23] This revival also greatly affected the musicians of Kashmir and consequently a good many Indian *raganis* found their way into the valley.

Kashmir *sazandas* (players) are expert players upon the *Tuti* or *Shahnai*. The popularity of the Kashmiri band in the Punjab could be gauged from the fact that it is in demand on marriage occasions in places like Amritsar, Lahore and Ludhiana.

It will be interesting to note that up to this day groups of musicians and actors and *rasdharis* (musicians who perform Hindu religious plays) come down from the Happy Valley to sing songs, dance, and play farces for the amusement of Punjabis. These ministrels of Kashmir says Lawrence,[24] can be recognised

22 Vide the article of R. B. Pandit Shiv Narain Shamim, President, Panjab Historical Society, Lahore, on "Kashmiri Music" in the *Zamana* (Cawnpore) of November, 1916, from which much useful information has been obtained.

23 Vincent A. Smith's *Akbar*, 1919, pp. 62 and 422.

24 *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 312.

by their long black hair and stroller mien. They combine singing with acting and are great wanderers, travelling down to the Punjab where they perform to Kashmiri audiences. They are much in requisition at marriage feasts and at harvest time they move about the country. Their orchestra usually consists of four fiddles with a drum in the centre or of clarionets and drums, but the company often contains twenty members or more. Their ward-robe is frequently of great value. Their acting is excellent, continues Lawrence, and their songs are often very pretty. They are clever at improvisation and are fearless as to its results. They have songs in Kashmiri, Persian and Punjabi.

Painting

It must be stated at the outset that on account of the religious objection to the delineation of natural forms, Muhammadans did not produce the type of painting or achieve the excellence their genius could rise to in other fields of art. In India it was probably the dictum of Akbar that gave a definite turn to the faculty of the Muslim artist when His Majesty said: "There are many that hate painting but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means or recognizing God; for a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life and will thus increase in knowledge."[25] There is, however, a remarkable set of twenty-four large paintings on cotton preserved in the Indian Section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, that was produced in Kashmir about the middle of the sixteenth century before Akbar took measures to encourage painting after the Persian manner. These cotton paintings are said to have been illustrations of a manuscript book of stories which has not been preserved or identified. The subjects comprise many battles and scenes of bloodshed. The most pleasing and best preserved composition represents a central garden plot with banyan[26] trees and a highly

25 *Ain*, Vol. I, p. 108.
26 It is a mistake for "chenar".

decorated palace in the Persian style; cranes are seen flying above. The rocky scenery found in all, or almost all, the pictures are connected with Kashmir. These works may be conjectured to have been executed in Kashmir between 1540 and 1551 A.D.[27] when Mirza Haidar Doghlat was in the valley. Abul Fazl has recorded that Mulla Jamil who, as a singer, adorned the court of Zain-ul-Abidin, was pre-eminent among his contemporaries in painting. The Sultan must have, therefore, encouraged painting in his time but unfortunately the details are lacking.

Pictures originally painted in Kashmir are known as Kashmiri *qalam*. Some of the details of the process of painting in Kashmir are of considerable interest. Several uses were made of water only without the admixture of colour, this method being referred to as *abina*. For instance, a sketch was sometimes drawn in with a brush charged with pure water only ; when dry, this leaves a water mark impression which acts as a guide for future work. A very delicate shade, says Percy Brown,[28] was obtained by the Kashmiri painters who allowed water to stand until it had completely evaporated, thus depositing a slight redimcnt. This sediment was then used as a background tint to faces, and gave a faint but charming tone to the picture. Water was, of course, the principal medium through which all the pigments were applied but with this certain fixatives were mixed such as gum, glue, sugar (gur), and linseed water.

While writing about painting we should not omit to mention the borders (*hashiya*) of cardboard panels on which pictures (*tasawirs*) and specimens of calligraphy (*khush-khatti*) were mounted and were prepared by painters. It would, very often, appear that, as a work of art, the border is vastly superior to the picture it frames, the latter not infrequently being eclipsed by the magnificence of its environment. For the most part the borders are painted in colours and gold, with delightful designs in which flowering plant motifs form the basis.

Examples of Kashmiri painting during Mughal days may still

27 Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylone*, p. 105.
28 *Indian Painting* by Percy Brown, p. 105.

be found in fresco on the walls of the *baradaris* of Nishat and Shalamar. Akbar's celebrated group of court painters included five painters from Kashmir (vide Percy Brown's *Indian Painting Under the Moghuls*, p. 121). Jahangir who prided himself on being an excellent connoisseur of painting did a great deal to stimulate the art in Kashmir. The flowers of the valley gave ample material to his chief court painter, Ustad Mansur, whose pictures of the flowers of Kashmir the Emperor got embellished and bound in a beautiful volume.

Fifteen different portraits and a landscape painting of Kashmir were exhibited at the British Empire Exhibition of 1924, but I regret I could not get details about them.

Calligraphy

Calligraphy or the art of decorative writing, in the words of Mr. Clarke,* was highly esteemed in the East from ancient times, and contributed greatly not only in diffusing but in preserving its languages. Under Muslim rule the extraordinary appreciation of this art was undoubtedly engendered by the Muslim Law which prohibited the representation of living things in art. 'The artistic spirit craved for satisfaction and found it in calligraphy. An illuminated calligraphic text, continues Mr. Clarke, hung upon the wall in the shape of a picture or painting from the Quranic or other sacred or didactic writing often draws a negligent soul much closer to the moral teaching inculcated in it than all the lessons that one may attempt to impress upon it by scriptural reading or recitation. Moreover, before the invention of printing, clear and neat handwriting was a necessity; and this was the principal reason why so much stress was laid upon this art. It would be interesting to note as already stated elsewhere that the Arabic alphabet in its various forms as used for writing both the Arabic and Persian languages, is so well adapted for decorative purposes that almost every Muhammadan building of importance is freely adorned with texts from the Quran or other inscriptions arranged decoratively to form part of the architectural design and often signed as the work of calligraphists. The

*"Indian Drawings in the Wantage Beques", p. 3.

angular kufi script is an instance to the point. In Kashmir calligraphy actually ranked before painting, sculpture and architecture. Some of the most excellent penmen whose products rank as classics are Kashmiris. Penmanship flourished under the Sultans, and, later, under the Mughals in Kashmir when Kashmiri calligraphists invented an ink which could not be washed away with water. The invention naturally received reward from the Mughals. Zain-ul-Abidin was the first to import a number of calligraphists from Central Asia and introduced the use of paper instead of the *bhojpatar*. The Sultan to begin with had a number of copies made of *Kashshaf* (a well-known commentary of the Quran) of Allama Zamakhshari and used them in his University of Naushehra. The Sultan gave *jagirs* to his court calligraphists.

According to Abul Fazl the following calligraphical systems were used in Persia, Turkistan, India and Turkey towards the end of the sixteenth century: (1) the *suls* and (2) the *naksh* consisting of one-third curved lines and two-thirds straight lines; (3) the *tauqi* and (4) *riqa* both containing three-fourths lines; (5) the *muhaqqaq* and (6) the *raihan* both curved containing one-fourth curved lines; (7) the *taliq* a composite script, formed from the *tauqi* and the *riqa* containing only a few straight lines; and (8) the *nastaliq* composed entirely of curved lines. Numbers 1, 3, and 5 were characterised by thick, heavy letters obtained with a pen full of ink, and, conversely, 2, 4 and 6 by thin, light letters. No. 8, the *nastaliq* or the round Persian character, was the one favoured both by Akbar and Jahangir, and, consequently, was specially practised by Mughal writers from about 1560 A.D. to the end of the seventeenth century.

Muhammad Husain of Kashmir was the Court Calligraphist of the Emperor Akbar by whom he was honoured with the title of *Zarrin Qalam* (the Golden Pen). Abul Fazl says that Muhammad Husain surpassed his master Maulana Abdul Aziz, his *maddat* (extensions) and *dawair* (curvatures) shew everywhere a proper portion to each other and art critics consider him equal

to Mulla Mir Ali. He himself called him Jadu Raqam[29] (the writer of magic). Jahangir, as a mark of his great appreciation of the skill of Muhammad Husain presented him with an elephant in 1609 A.D. Muhammad Husain died in 1020 A.H. (1611 A.D.) six years after Akbar's death. Ali Chaman Kashmiri was another of the renowned Calligraphists attached to Akbar's court.

Muhammad Murad Kashmiri[30] was the Court Calligraphist of Shah Jahan. In point of beauty his penmanship was considered next only to those of the celebrated Mullah Mir Ali and Sultan Ali. He was the master of both large and small hands. Shah Jahan conferred on him the title of *Shirin Qalam* (The Sweet Pen). His influence over contemporary Calligraphists was extraordinary. The amature of his letters at the time was universally acclaimed to be extremely superb. Mulla Mohsin, the younger brother of Muhammad Murad, was also a well-known calligraphist. Both the brothers were poets as well. They were the sons of a well-known merchant.

Mulla Baqir Kashmiri was also in the service of Shah Jahan and was considered a master[31] of *nastaliq*, *taliq*, *nasakh* and *shikast*.

The most noted scripts that were generally used[32] in Kashmir are—in Arabic—kufa, nasakh, makramat, suls, riqa, and raihan; in Persian—nastaliq, shikast, gulzar, nakhun, shikast amiz, shafiee, amez, etc.

Industries

The beautiful environments of Kashmir naturally create in the minds of its inhabitants a keen and intelligent appreciation of nature and its beauties. The artistic faculty of the Kashmiri receives a great stimulus from the beautiful surroundings in which he lives. The variety of colour and form, the subtlety of

29 *Tazkira-i-Khushnavisan* by Maulana Ghulam Muhammad Haft Qalam of Delhi edited by Maulvi Hidayat Husain and published by B. A. S., Calcutta, p. 79.

30 *Tazkira-i-Khushnavisan*, pp 100-01.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 91.

32 *Gulzar-i-Kashmir* of Dewan Kirpa Ram, p. 505.

design, the kaleidoscopic change of landscape have their effect on the imaginative and thoughtful Kashmir. He reproduces with marvellous accuracy the most complicated patterns found in nature. In reproducing the colours and designs of nature, the Kashmiri artist has attained a mastery and perfection all his own. With elegance of taste and a refinement of artistic sense, he combines the virtue of application and labour. He revels in art for its own sake. His worus of art are things of beauty. The Kashmiri finds beauty all-round. He reproduces beauty ; in fact, he creates beauty and is satisfied with nothing but beauty.

The industries of Kashmir are all suited to its climate and environment. Nature has provided enough of raw products for his Kashmiri who applies his genius for creative work to the best advantage. The products of the skilled artisan are unrivalled for their artistic design, their exquisite workmanship and their marvellous deftness. We shall deal with the industries of Kashmir one by one.

Just as Europe was in slumber when the Saracens had reached the height of their glory, Northern India lacked even the elements of stable government when Kashmir was the centre of learning and the home of arts and crafts that made it so famous in the world. Speaking of those times Mirza Haidar Doghlat says: "In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are in most cities uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-making, window-cutting (*tabban tarash*), gold-beating, etc. In the whole of Mavara-un-Nahr, except in Samarqand and Bokhara, these are nowhere of be met with, while in Kashmir they are even abundant. This is all due to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin."

Shawls

Of all Indian textiles, says Dr. A. Coomaraswamy,[33] none excel in beauty of colour, texture and design the famous Kashmir shawls. All the finest work takes the forms of shawls and coats (*choghas*). Some of these are woven, some embroidered,

33 *The Art and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, 1931, p. 250.

the result being often indistinguishable without close inspection or an examination of the reverse side of the stuff. The woven shawls are all of patch-work construction, though the joins are so fine as to be invisible and the thickness of the stuff is not effected at the join. Such shawls are made of long strips or ribbons woven as fine tapestry on small looms and afterwards joined along their length : but many of the best shawls are partly woven and partly embroidered. The finest work appears mork like painting than tapestry, and the most costly may be worth as much as or more than a thousand pounds. The usual motif, continues Dr. Coomaraswamy, of the decoration of the woven shawls is the well-known cone (*kuni*) or shawl pattern derived almost certainly from the Persian[34] wind-blown cypress. An embroidered scarf may follow any design or illustrate any story like that of *Shirin-Farhad.*

The shawl industry in Kashmir may be said to be as old as the hills. It is stated to have flourished in the days of Kurvas and Pandvas. It was in a prosperous condition in the days of the Roman Empire, when Kashmiri shawls "were worn by the proudest beauties at the court of the Caesars".[35] In Asoka's time we find the shawl mentioned in Buddhistic works as the Kashmiri shawl. But in course of time it had its death.

It was however through the efforts of the great saint, Shah Hamadan[36] that the shawl, as we know it now, was re-born in Kashmir in the latter part of the fourteenth century and the shawl industry took a new lease of life. Sultan Qutb-ud-Din who was then the ruler of Kashmir "patronized, nourished and stimulated it". About two centuries later the shawl industry received an impetus through tne endeavours of Naghz Beg, a resident of Khoqand in Central Asia, who was in the service of

34 Dr. Coomaraswamy's *Arts and Crafts*, p. 251. Some, however, attribute the cone to ancient Egypt. But it is not improbable that the cone which the glorious Jhelum itself forms above Srinagar looked at from the top of the Takht-i-Sulaiman hill, may have suggested itself to the Kashmiri artist.

35 *Vide* the article of Pandit Anand Kaul, ex-President, Srinagar Municipality, "The Kashmir Shawl Trade," in the now defunct *East and West* of January, 1915, p. 30.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

Mirza Haidar Doghlat, the well-known author of *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. Naghz Beg was an artist by nature and it was he who introduced in the texture of shawl red and green spots in regular rows.

Of the two principal classes of shawls, namely, *Tili* or *Kani* or loomwoven, and the *Amilka*[37], the latter was invented by Said Baba[37] alias Ala Baba in the time of Azad Khan, an Afghan Governor of Kashmir from 1783 to 1785 A.D. It is said that Said Baba was led to this invention by observing a fowl walking on a white sheet of cloth which left prints of his dirty feet on it and suggested to him that if he covered these stains with coloured thread with the help of the needle, the cloth would look prettier. He did so and found his attempt successful and marvellously improved upon it.

The beauty of the shawl depends as much on the brilliancy and durability of its unrivalled colours and their being carefully harmonized and the material of which it is made, as on the quality of the workmanship. The shawl is made of fine, short, soft, flossy underwood called *Keliphumb* or the *Pashm* of Kel or shawl goat, that inhabits the elevated regions of Tibet. The higher the goats live, the finer and warmer is their wool.

In the days of the Mughal Emperors the art of shawl weaving attained to such excellence that a shawl of one and a half square yards could be twisted and passed through an ordinary finger ring. Many Andijan weavers were brought down to Kashmir by the Mughals. These weavers adopted the *Jigha* design. The *Jigha* was a jewelled ornament in shape like an almond and was worn on the turban. The Mughal Emperors, Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, were all extremely fond of shawls, and patronised and subsidised the shawl weaving industry. In the reign of Muhammad Shah a new floral design was introduced and named after him, Muhammad Shahi Buta.

Later on, when the Afghans came to rule in Kashmir the shawl industry was further improved as they showed much liking for shaws and in their days shawls were in demand in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkistan and Russia.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

It is said that in 1796 A.D. in the time of Abdullah Khan, an Afghan Governor of Kashmir, a blind man, named Syed Yahya[38] had come from Baghdad as a visitor to Kashmir and when he took leave from Abdullah Khan to return, the latter gave him a present of an orange-coloured shawl. The Syed is stated to have presented the shawl to the Khedive in Egypt who in his turn presented it to Napoleon Bounaparte then engaged in the Egyptian campaign. Napoleon passed it on to the Empress Josephine[39] and from that time shawls became fashionable in Paris and their vogue in Europe was assured. During the reign of Queen Victoria[40] it was customary for Her Majesty to present a Kashmir shawl as a wedding present to the bride if her people were connected with the court, so these shawls became fashionable in England also.

In the days of Sikh rule and in the early days of Ranbir Singh the industry was in a fairly flourishing condition. But it received its death-blow, when war broke out between Germany and France in 1870 and old Kashmiris still talk of the excitement and interest with which the shawl-weaver (shal-baf) watched the fate of France in that struggle, bursting into tears and loud lamentations when the news of Germany's victories reached him. Unfortunately on account of the heavy war indemnity the French had no spare cash for the purchase of Kashmir shawls. Any hope of revival of the industry was, however, dashed on account of the famine of 1878 and 1879. A good many shawl weavers left Kashmir for Lahore, Amritsar and Ludhiana where they carry on the trade upto this day. But the shawl-weavers seem to be forgetting their old art and are imitating the 'new fashions' of Paris and London. The import of cheap German and Australian yarn will soon wring the death-knell of the slowly-dying shawl industry. Under the circumstances it appears to be well-nigh impossible for it to revive its old glory, though it must be admitted that atleast a part of what remains of the once extensive trade in shawls is kept up by the Bengalee's passion for the shawl. He is one of the important

38 Pandit Anand Kaul's article on Shawls, p. 34.
39 Lawrence's *The Valley*, p. 376.
40 J. F. Blacker's *A B C of Indian Art*, pp. 18-19.

customers of the Kashmir shawl merchant of Srinagar and Amritsar.

Carpets

The carpet industry was introduced into the valley by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin, who as we know had been to Samarqand, Timur's capital, in early youth when deputed by his father to take presents to the great Central Asian conqueror. The industry flourished for a long time after his reign. But in course of time it decayed and died.

Over three hundred years ago in the time of Ahmad Beg Khan, one of Emperor Jahangir's governors of Kashmir from 1614 to 1618 A.D., a Kashmiri Musalman, named Akhun Rahnuma[41] went to perform the Haj pilgrimage via Central Asia. On his way back he visited Andijan, the capital to Ferghana, where carpets were manufactured. He learn the art and brought carpet-weaving tools with him and taught the art to the Kashmiris who eventually stuck to it. Akhun Rahnuma's tomb is in the Gojwara Mohalla in Srinagar and is held in great esteem by carpet-weavers.

Pile carpets were made in Kashmir and attained great perfection during Muslim rule. They were of floral design with mosques, gardens, wild animals, gliding fish, etc.

When Maharaja Ranjit Singh ruled in the Punjab the carpet industry had reached its climax in Kashmir. A masterpiece of the Kashmir carpet weaving art was presented to the Maharaja who liked it so highly that he rolled himself on it in great joy. But the industry deteriorated soon after by the importation and introduction of aniline and alizarine dyes, and was greatly harmed by the attempt of some Europeans who brought in new and 'fashionable' designs. The dyes used were bad and the designs worse.

One European firm, however, is responsible for the reproduction of one wonderful Persian carpet—a real work of art—in 1902. It is known as Ardabil (a town in Azarbaijan)

41 Pandit Anand Koul's article on "The Kashmir Carpet Industry" in *East and West*, October, 1915.

Mosque carpet and is in the Victoria Albert Museum for which it was purchased at a cost of £2000. A copy of this celebrated carpet was purchased by Lord Curzon for £100.

There is a great scope for the carpet industry provided the vegetable dyes are used and not aniline dyes and the 'new fashions' are given up. The Kashmiri artists must learn to be true to their own nature and not be slavish imitators of European 'fashions'.

All Kashmiri styles, varied as they are, usually rest on a sound basis and effort should be made to allow no novelties in the form of western designs to creep in. By looking backwards to the art antiquities and the decorative style of Kashmir workmanship, the old art will be kept up and invigorated. But to do this all introduction of the more brilliant colouring and too generally defective designing of modern styles must be jealously guarded against; or glaring colours and questionable patterns will assuredly creep in and vitiate the really sound taste exhibited by the Kashmiri, if left to himself. The Kashmiri carpet subdued in colour and its tints perfectly blended, finds less favour in a dull murky climate than it does in the glaring sun-lit land where its faded, softened hues are a rest to the eyes, tired with the prevailing strong light; but English customers want more colour, that is brighter, harsher, less modulated colour and the endeavour to introduce such high colouring into Kashmiri carpets in accordance with the taste of Western, and by no means artistic or aesthetic, customers cannot fail to do harm to the Kashmiri carpet weaver's designs thoroughly disturb his theory of harmonious colouring.

Srinagar has however formidable rival in Amritsar where a large colony of Kashmiri weavers is settled and considerable capital has been employed in the manufacture of carpets which find a ready market in America.

Silk

Sericulture is an ancient industry in Kashmir. In olden days Kashmir silk found its way to Damascus and Bokhara and the inhabitants of the modern Khotan were the chief agents in the

transmission of silk into Western Asia and Europe.[42] In the days of Mirza Haidar Doghlat,[43] among the wonders of Kashmir were the quantities of mulberry trees cultivated for their leaves from which silk was obtained. It is said that sericulture existed in the times of Zain-ul-Abidin that it had fallen into disuse in the Pathan times and that Pathans restored the industry.[44] Nothing definite however is known in Kashmir about the origin of the silk industry beyond the fact that it is very ancient and that it is intimately connected with that of Bokhara with which it had always had interchange of seed and silk.[45] In later times Maharaja Ranbir Singh did a great deal to rehabilitate the industry on a substantial scale, which has resulted in considerable revenue to the State. Sir Walter Lawrence is of opinion that the Kashmiri's house is suited to the requirements of silk rearing: it is well-ventilated and the Kashmiri knows well how to regulate the temperature.

Papier Mache

Papier Mache is 'mashed paper'. It is an art peculiar to Kashmir and was introduced into the Valley by Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin from Samarqand. The work goes by the name of *Kar-i-Qalamdani* or pen-case work, because it is usually applied to the ornamentation of pen-cases and small boxes. It is also called *Kar-i-Munaqash* or painted ware.

The process of making papier is rather elaborate. Sheets of paper are pasted on to moulds or *vasal* of the required form and painted and varnished. The article, says Baden Powell,[46] is covered with a coating of white paint on the surface of which a delicate pattern in colours chiefly crimson, green, and blue is drawn with a fine brush; flowers and the curved designs seen upon shawls are most commonly produced. A very pretty

42 Chaudhri Khushi Muhammad's *Census Report of Kashmir*, 1925, pp. 178-79.

43 *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Elias and Ross, p. 425.

44 Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 367.

45 Sir Thomas Wardle's *Kashmir : Its New Silk Industry*, 1904, p. 15.

46 "Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab" by B. H. Baden Powell, 1872, Vol. 2, p. 218.

pattern is also done by painting with gold paint a spreading series of minute branches and leaves on a white ground—a border of brighter colouring is added: sometimes figures of men and animals are introduced. The designs are very intricate and the drawing is all free hand. The skill shown by the *naqqash* in sketching and designing, says Lawrence, is remarkable. When the painting is done, the surface is varnished over with a varnish made by boiling the clearest copal (sumdras) in pure turpentine. The varnish has to be perfectly transparent or it would spoil the appearance of the painting.

It is surprising to see the beautiful forms into which 'mashed paper' can be wrought. Some of the articles now made are: picture-frames, screens, bed-stead legs, tables, tea-poys, trays, vases, and glove, handkerchief, card and stamp-boxes, candle-sticks, writing sets, snuff-boxes, pen-cases, etc. The work is extended to floral decorations and illuminations of books, memorials, etc. The Lamas of Lhasa at one time indented for a kind of table called Saksha on which were placed two books (Fekru) and nine pieces of wood. The table was beautifully worked in Chinese pattern in gold and red and green medallions. Shawls were sent to France in papier mache boxes which were separately sold there at high prices.[47] The older examples were so well-made as to hold even hot liquids but most of the present day work is really painted-wood.

The art of papier mache is pursued only by the Kashmiri Musalmans of the Shia sect.[48] There were artists in the past who carried the papier mache art to the highest pitch of excellence and the last one was Syed Turab who died over forty years ago.

The industry is now in a somewhat reduced condition and has suffered perhaps more than any other industry from the taste of the foreign purchaser.[49]

47 Pandit Anand Koul's article on "The Papier Mache Industry" in *East and West* for July, 1916, p. 660.

48 Pandit Anand Koul's article, p. 659.

49 Lawrence, *The Valley*, p. 378.

Jewellery

The instructive and valuable reflections of Ruskin in *The Lamp of Truth* of his famous work on architecture have a special reference to ornaments. He says: "Ornament has two entirely distinct sources of agreeableness; one that of the abstract beauty of its forms, the other, the sense of human labour and care spent upon it." Each ornament, adds Col. Hendley, is the result of carving, hammering, etching or some process involving thought and individual skill instead of the perfection of the machine which turns out innumerable examples of highly polished, accurately modelled and absolutely exact copies of one original, which however, beautiful they may be, can never satisfy the aesthetic sense of anyone.

In considering the jewellery of a place, its history and geographical position are of unusual importance. We have frequently referred to the influence of Central Asia on Kashmir and we trace the same influence on the jewellery of the valley. The prevalence at this time of some forms of ornament in Kashmir which also occur in Central Asia is a proof in support of the statement. Nur Jahan is said to have introduced more delicate varieties in jewellery in the valley.

In making jewellery, says Surgeon-Major J. Ince, in his *Kashmir Handbook, 1876*, the Kashmiris are very ingenious and though their work has not that lightness so charming in that of Delhi, it has a peculiar style of its own. In the plain gold they make every imaginable article of jewellery charging at the rate of Rs. 2 a tola for the material and two annas in the rupee for workmanship: they some time introduce precious stones principally opals, carbandes, bloodstones, agates, and turquoises. Bracelets and other ornaments are made of gold, silver, brass, copper, tin, and a fine kind of clay.

Jewellery is worn for its intrinsic value and for its beauty. It is also worn for superstitious reasons as is evinced by the use of charms and amulets covered with gold or silver.

Silver Work

The silver-work of Kashmir is extremely beautiful, has attained

a great deal of fame in India and has also been much appreciated in Europe. Some of the indigenous patterns, the chenar, and lotus leaf or those copied from old shawls are of exquisite design. The silversmith works with a hammer and chisel, and will faithfully copy any design which may be given to him. Up to recent years, the silver-work of Kashmir had a peculiar white sheen, very beautiful at first sight but apt to tarnish after a short time. This whiteness is said to be due to the practice of boiling the silver work in apricot juice. The metal is either imported in ingots via Yarkand or in rupee silver. (Lawrence)

Copper-Work

Perhaps the most effective and certainly the best value for the money is, says Lawrence, the copper-work of Srinagar. The coppersmith works with a hammer and chisels, and many of the present coppersmiths are men who used once to work in silver. They also work in brass. Their designs are elegant and bold, and they are very ready to adopt any new pattern that may be offered to them. Jugs and basins of ancient make are still available in Srinagar. Excellent imitations of these are on sale in the copper bazaar of the city. Rev. Tyndale Biscoe (*Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, p. 133) describes a special kind of jug which he says takes the fancy of most of the visitors. "It is shaped like a duck called "batish" or female duck, which is used for blowing up the fire which it does in a most workmanlike manner. It is filled with water and placed on the fire and when the water boils the steam issues from its long beak, which being directed towards the spot that needs its attention, the pressure of steam soon does its work, unless, as sometimes happens, it works too vigorously, when it blows the hot charcoal ashes clean out of the grate. When the duck has blown itself dry there is no other way for the water to find its way to the duck's interior again except through its beak, which aperture is too small to allow of water being poured in, so the duck has to be heated and then its beak held in a glass of water, which it will itself drink up until its body and the air within it cools." The copper-work of Srinagar is admirably adapted for electro-plating, and some smiths now turn out a finer kind

of article specially for electro-plating. A large demand has arisen for the beautiful copper trays framed as tables in carved walnut-wood, and the carpenter is now the close ally of the copper-smith. Of the enamel works, the enamels on brass are said to be the best, though the enamelled silver-work is very pretty. Copper does not lend itself to enamel.

Enamels

The enamels of Kashmir, says Mr. Blacker,[50] are not transparent and differ in this respect from most Indian enamels. The Kashmir craftsman works on silver, copper and brass. For copper, different shades of blue are used most frequently, whilst on silver a light blue is applied. The traditional shawl pattern has been adapted to this industry, and it appears upon the *lota* (water vessel) and the *tumbi* (gourd shaped vessel) the *surahi* (gogles) and the various other ornamental forms of water-carrying vessels in which enamelling is usually combined with gilding. The articles manufactured present a very pleasing appearance and are frequently of large size, and "though the colours are somewhat crude and the enamel is applied with more boldness than delicacy, the general effect", says Kipling[51] "is undeniably bright and attractive." For Indian states *hookas*, canopies for idols and other objects are sometimes made of very large dimensions. Considering, the material and the trouble, continues Kipling, that the proper firing up of vitreous enamel gives, this enamelled ware may be considered cheap.

Wood-Work

The wood-work of Srinagar, according to Lawrence, lacks a little finish, but he says the Kashmiri carver is perhaps second to none in his skill as a designer. He works with a hammer and chisels, and a great deal of the roughness and inequality of his pieces is due to the difficulty of obtaining seasoned walnut-wood. In Islamabad the carpenter turns out a good deal of

50 *The A. B. C. of Indian Art*, by J. F. Blacker, p. 211.
51 J. L. Kipling, *The Journal of Indian Art*, January 1884, p. 8.

highly coloured wooden articles which look like lacquer work but is really wood coloured and then highly polished by the use of the lathe. Very elegant spinning wheels, candle-sticks, bowls and cups, etc., are made.

A speciality in Kashmir wood-work deserves mention: beautiful ceilings of perfect design, cheap and effective, are made by carpenters, who with marvellous skill piece together thin panels of pinewood. This is known as *Khatamband* and is said to have been introduced by Mirza Haider Doghlat. The result of the carpenter's skill is a charming ceiling, in which the various shades of the pine-slips blend together in perfect harmony. A great impetus has been given to this industry by the builders of house-boats, and the darker colours of the walnut-wood have been mixed with the lighter shades of the pine. Anyone who wishes to see a good specimen of modern Kashmiri wood-work and Kashmiri ceilings should visit the well-known shrine of Hazrat Naqshband, not far from the Jama Masjid of Srinagar. A few of the "Khatamband" ceilings, have been introduced into England and have been found cheap and, Lawrence says, extremely effective. Ceilings of the same construction and design are found in Samarqand, Bokhara, Persia, Constantinople, Algiers and Morocco.

Boat-Making

The Kashmiri is so aquatic and his chief city so like an Eastern Venice that a special notice must be devoted to boats and boatmen in Kashmir. The boating industry in Kashmir is an old one and we learn from the *Ain-i-Akbari* that boats were the centre upon which all commerce moved. The boatmen, one and all, are invariably Muhammadans. The Hanz or Hanji as the boatman is called, traces by tradition, his descent to Noah, at any rate, his large craft is no bad model of Noah's Ark.

The Kashmiri is an intelligent and clever carpenter, says Younghusband, and his boats are of all sizes from the great grain barges carrying cargoes of thirty tons to state *Parnidas* or fliers propelled by forty or fifty rowers and to light skiffs for a couple of paddlers. "The Kashmiris have their own special

way of building boats, and very clever they are at their art," says Mr. Tyndale-Biscoe, "I have always been interested in boats and boat-building but I have never come across boats built as in Kashmir."

There are many kinds of boats, all flat-bottomed. The large ones are used for the transport of grain and wood. The larger is called *Bahat* and has a high prow and stern and can carry cargo of 800 to 1,000 maunds. The smaller is known as *war* and has a low prow and can carry a cargo of 400 maunds. One of the most common forms of boats is the *Dunga*. This is flat-bottomed, about 50 to 60 feet in length and about 6 feet in width and draws about 2 feet of water. It has a sloping roof of matting and side walls of a similar material. The boatmen live in the aft of the *Dunga*, the passenger lives in the front part of the boat. In winter, *Dungas*, are employed in carrying grain. A good *Dunga* can carry up to 200 maunds. The house-boat is the crowning glory of the Kashmiri boatman. Though Mr. Kennard was the first Englishman to build the modern house-boat, supplanting the old "lar-i-nav," the Kashmiri boatman has shown his wonderful power of adaptation in improving upon the model. And house-boats of all shapes and sizes can be seen in the river from the *Dunga* house-boat to the large barges which are splendidly furnished floating houses. If in Kashmir you can remove your gardens from one place to another, you can also remove your house from anywhere to anywhere in the water. The house-boats are generally one storeyed, because a high two storeyed boat would be difficult to get beneath a bridge. The *Shikara* is a small edition of the *Dunga*, very useful for short journeys. It is a small elegantly decorated boat with soft cushions and an awning with hanging fringes and tassels. Trips in the *Shikara* both morning and evening on the Dal are extremely delightful.

The Hanjis are a muscular, active, hardy people and small children commence the work of towing or paddling at a very early age. The paddle is heart-shaped. The Hanji is so clever at his craft that he would emerge safely from the riskiest situation. Not only that, he can do most things from a big business in grain to cooking a visitor's food—be he a Hindu, a Muslim, or a Christian.

Leather

Moorcroft spoke in high praise of the leather of Kashmir, and there is no doubt that there is abundance of raw material, and that the tanners of the country can turn out an excellent leather if they choose. The leather portmanteaux and valises made in Srinagar, says Lawrence, stand an amount of rough usage which few English solid leather bags would survive. It is claimed for the leather of Srinagar that the saddles last forever.

Furs

The furriers of Srinagar chiefly depend for their livelihood on the business given to them by sportsmen who send in skins to be cured. Though the law for the protection of game, under which the sale of skins and horns is prohibited, has curtailed the business of the furriers, yet their skill in preparing a variety of furs has elicited the admiration of those who use them.

Paper

Kashmir was once famous for its paper, which was much in request in India for manuscripts, and was used by all who wished to impart dignity to their correspondence. The pulp from which the paper is made is a mixture of rags and hemp fibre, obtained by pounding these materials under a lever mill worked by water-power. Lime and kiln somed of soda are used to whiten the pulp, which is taken from the mills in the Sind valley and the Dachigam Nullah to the factory in the city. The pulp, so says Lawrence, is taken placed in stone troughs or baths and mixed with water, and from this mixture a layer of the pulp is extracted on a light frame of reeds. This layer is the paper, which is pressed and dried in the sun. Next, it is polished with pumice stone, and then its surface is glazed with rice water. A final polishing with onyx stone is given, and the paper is then ready for use. It is durable and in many ways excellent, but it cannot compete with the cheap mill paper of India. Its high glaze is dangerous, as entries can be obliterated

by water. The paper once was an important and renowned manufacture. Qurans are still written on paper made from hemp fibre, but printing has destroyed those men of beautiful penmanship, the Khushnavis of Srinagar, just as the Indian paper-mills have destroyed the once famous handmade foolscap of Kashmir. It is said that the industry of paper-making, as well as of book-binding, was introduced by the great king Zain-ul-Abidin from Samarqand.

Book-binding

F. Sarre, in his *Islamic Book-bindings* (published in 1923 in Berlin) deplores that the Islamic book-cover has been treated in two off-hand a way and even in monographs on Islamic art the bindings of the books have either been not dealt with at all or have received only a surface-touch. Though exquisite Oriental book-bindings have excited admiration they unfortunately do not yet occupy the prominent position that would correspond with their artistic significance in the scientific publications and annotated catalogues of learned societies and advanced institutions. Sarre further deplores that we are still without the required exhaustive proofs of the long recognized technical dependence of the Western upon the Eastern book-binding. At the end of his preface he adds the hope that his presentation of the master-pieces of Islamic book-binding art may supply valuable models and suggest new aims to modern handicraft.

Nothing has, however, been yet traced anterior to the wooden binding of the Egyptian Muslims. The early Egyptian leather bindings are traceable to the times of the Mamelukes (A.D. 1250-1517). A peculiarity common to all Islamic bindings is the triangular-shaped flap hinged to the back cover ; it is tucked in under the front cover corresponding to the back cover of books in the west and serves to protect the book. Earlier designs on the covers are geometrical and show in most cases a centre panel framed in by borders of varying width and covered by a drawing of interwoven rectilinear ribbon-work and the background is filled with stamped pattern in fine blind-tooling. The filling of the panel is replaced later on by the decorative motif prominent in all branches of Islamic art after the 15th

century, namely, an oval shield in the centre with pendants. At the commencement it is purely ornamental in shape but gradually assumes more and more the character of natural vegetation and ends by developing into foliage and flowers formed true to nature. Then we come to the design which is the sculptured design backed by colour and associated with Central Asiatic bindings. The colouristic charm of these bindings has been very much appreciated and their designs show the sculptured patterns of the central medallion and the spandrels in corners backed by red and blue silk. One more variety is the lacquer-binding which appears to be of Persian origin. It only uses leather for the back of the binding. The front cover, made of rough paper-waste pasted together, is covered with a ground of chalk over which are several layers of transparent lacquer, on which the drawing is made in water colour, while a final top layer is only used to carry the gold and silver. The lacquer bindings of the 18th and even 19th centuries cannot however be compared for drawing and composition of colours with the older examples but they have nevertheless preserved the tradition and distinguish themselves by the almost entire exclusion of European imitation which we have noticed in the case of the shawl, the carpet and the papier-mache work of Kashmir, and which has in general been so fatal to Oriental art. All these varieties of bindings we have discussed above had their vogue in Kashmir but the complete leather bindings were replaced by the papier-mache bindings (with leather backs) for more artistic works, though complete leather bindings re-asserted their position to a certain extent. In Kashmir bindings one deviation may, however, be noticed that in place of the central oval shield the popular cone, so familiar in shawls and other industries, also finds its way in decorative bindings. The credit of introducing decorative binding in Kashmir from Samarqand is also due to Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.

Mat-Making, etc.

Matting is said to have been introduced by Mirza Haidar Doghlat (*vide Tarikh-i-Hasan*, p. 160, under Houses of Kashmir). The *pech*, says Lawrence, is the swamp plant from which exce-

llent matting (*waggu*) of Kashmir is made. The Anchar Lagoon to the north of Srinagar is the great home of *pech* though it is found in most of the swamps of Kashmir. All boats (except of course the house-boats) are roofed with the *pech* matting and the mats are employed as coverings for floors and in numerous other ways. The industry of mat-making gives employment to a large number of the people. The villagers of Lasjan, to the south of Srinagar, are perhaps the best mat-makers in the valley.

From the mat-making industry let us now turn to wicker work. From a long time past certain articles of common use in local homesteads have been made of wicker. A few years ago experiments were made in growing English willow in Kashmir, with a view to establishing a regular wicker-work industry. The experiments met with success and the English willows took very kindly to the fertile soil of Kashmir and yielded willow with longer twigs than they produced even in England. Lunch and flower baskets, chairs and tables and various other articles of common use are being produced in elegant designs and perfect workmanship and it is expected that in course of time this industry will grow and the articles produced will find a ready market locally as well as in other places in India. (*British Exhibition Handbook*, 1924.)

A word about the *Kangri*. Dr. Elmslie observes that probably the Kashmiris learnt the use of the *Kangri* (or chafing vessel also in use in Japan) from the Italians in the retinue of the Mughal emperors showing how ready they were to adopt foreign customs. But the Doctor's observation has not been accepted by others.

Arms

Kashmir has been famous for the manufacture of swords and gun barrels. The Kashmir swords, says Egerton,[52] are frequently ornamented with incised figures in relief of man and animals and the outline heightened with gold. Shields with beautiful designs

52. Egerton, *Handbook of Indian Arms*, London, 1880, p. 141.

on them vieing with the embroidered work of a shawl are also made. The figures of sportsmen on foot and on elephants are usually represented pursuing the tiger and the antelope. For the manufactures of barrels the Kashmiris use the iron of Bajaur (in the Yusuf-Zai country) as it comes from the smelting furnace. Blades for daggers are also prepared. Specimens of old Kashmir daggers (*peshqabaz*) and musquetoons (or *sher bacha*, young tiger) may still be seen in the Indian museums in London.

Diwan Kirpa Ram in his *Gulzar-i-Kashmir* (pp. 456-61) gives a long list of instruments that Kashmiris have been using in the manufacture of arms, specially swords and gun barrels.

Pistols are now made in admirable imitation of European work, and Lawrence, writing about a Muhammadan firm of Srinagar, says that they can turn out good guns and rifles and replace part of weapons in so clever a manner that it is difficult to detect the difference between Kashmiri and English workmanship.

9

Civil and Military Organization Under Muslim Rule

The administrative systems of the Muslims both civil and military, to use the words of Mr. S. Khuda Bukhsh, are the most powerful witnesses of their culture and civilization as unfolding not only their great adaptive and absorbing capacity, but also their original and creative powers. In the Islamic state the sovereign was the supreme head, next to him were his executive authorities, the highest dignitaries and holders of the most important offices, the *Wazir*, the commander of forces, and the chief justice, the heads of the departments of police, of finance, taxation and land laws.

Originally, the head of the Islamic state owed his authority to general election but powerful rulers undermined this institution of election and, under cover of the notion that 'the King is the shadow of God' a sort of 'divine light' was sought to be established and not unoften might was considered right in the matter of succession to the throne. In addition to his duties of governing his state, the sovereign was expected to hold courts of justice and try select cases personally. Naturally his court was the tribunal of the highest appeal. Next to the sovereign was the office of the *Wizarat*, which appears to be of Persian or Indian origin and came into existence in the Islamic state for the first time under the Abbasides. Some Arab scholars, however,

question the Persian origin of the *Wizarat* and derive it from *Wizr*, meaning 'a burden'. The position of the *Wazir-i-Azam* in the East corresponds to that of the prime minister in the West. In fact, the *Wazir* of a Muslim ruler has to advice his master in all the great affairs of the state and practically to bear the heavy load of government and must possess all the arts of an acccomplished courtier. He must be "conversant with the games of chess and polo and is also expected to play the guitar and to be proficient in mathematics, medicine, astrology, poetry, grammar and history, in the recitation of poems and in the narration of tales". Above all, he must always be a practical psychologist and understand the situation and deal with it with the utmost tact. The *Wizarat* was of a variable character and took its tone and colour from the ruler who allowed to his minister a larger or smaller measure of independence and personal initiative as the case might be. Hence we have the unlimited *Wizarat* and the limited *Wizarat*, terms which sufficiently explain themselves. In Kashmir during the rule of the Sultans, the prime minister was designated *Madar-ul-Maham* as is the case in the Hyderabad State at present. During Mughal rule the valley was governed by *Subedars*. During Afghan rule, the *Subedar's Wazir* was called *Peshkar*. Sometimes the chief minister combined with his own duties those of the commander-in-chief of the military forces as we find in the case of Malik Siya Butt or Saif-ud-Din in the days of Sultan Sikandar. The commander-in-chief was the head of the military department of the state. He was well trained in the arts of warfare then known and was familiar with the use of all kinds of weapons then existing. It was his duty to attend to the training and efficient organization of the army and the enforcement of proper discipline among the soldiers. Attention was to be paid to the condition of the beasts of burden. In brief, the commander-in-chief was to see that the troops were ready for march or actual engagement at the shortest possible notice. He was himself to have his seat in the centre of the army.

The *Qazi* (or the *Qazi-ul-Quzat*, the supreme *Qazi*) was the highest civil authority in the state. He was entrusted with ecclesiastical affairs and it was his duty to see that the religious observances were properly respected and performed by

the Muhammadans. He was assisted in his duties by an official known as the Mufti (a canon lawyer) who pronounced *Fatwas* according to Islamic law. The *Qazi* was subordinate to the prime minister under whose orders he received his appointment, or, through him if the appointment was made by the sovereign himself. The post of *Qazi* was generally held by a highly learned man well versed in Islamic law. Under the Mughals the duties of a Qazi were: (a) to decide quarrels and settle animosities, (b) to put into execution the penal laws; (c) to contract matrimony on behalf of those who had no guardians; (d) to make partition of inheritance; (e) to protect the property of absentees, orphans and lunatics ; (f) to determine legatees ; (g) to administer justice; (h) to supervise and administer '*Waqf*' properties. As a rule, the Qazi took no fee of any kind from the people, a grant of land having been conferred on him by the state for his livelihood. The Qazi was naturally charged with the supervision of law officers and the sub-judges whom he could appoint or dismiss. The *Sadr* was judge and supervisor of the endowments of land by the sovereign or the prince for the support of pious men, scholars and monks. He was to see that such grants were applied to the right purpose and also to scrutinize applications for fresh grants. The chief *Sadr* was called *Sadr-us-Sudur*. This office exists in the Hyderabad State at present.

In Kashmir, however, we find that the highest civil and ecclesiastical authority in the state was designated as *Sheikh-ul-Islam* and we have the testimony of a writer[2] who says that Mulla Ahmad Allama was appointed *Sheikh-ul-Islam by* Sultan Shams-ud-Din (Shah Mir). Now, this Sultan began to rule in about 1342 A.D. while the office of *Sheikh-ul-Islam* was created in the Ottoman Empire in about 1453 A.D. by Sultan Muhammad II. If this testimony is to be given credence Kashmir was ahead of Turkey in this respect by about a hundred years. If there be any doubt about the exact date of the establishment of the office of *Sheikh-ul-Islam*, the fact that the

1 Khan Saheb Maulvi Zafar Hasan's article on *Three Moghul Parvanas* in the *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, Vol, VII, p. 33.
2 Haji Mohi-ud-Din Miskin, in his *Tarikh-i-Kabir*, p. 289.

office did exist is proved by several references to it in a number of histories of Kashmir. Most probably the office was imported from Central Asia as the present Qazi of Srinagar assures me. In the villages the Mulla acted as a *Mufti* in small cases and gave decrees.

The duty of the head of police or the censor of public morals or *Muhtahsib* was the maintenance of good morals and, as far as possible, the prevention of crime. He was to see that improper weights or measures were not used and to prevent fraud and use of counterfeit wares in sale. He was expected to make regulations conducive to general security, and was to investigate complaints regarding paternity, to protect slaves and servants from acts of cruelty on the part of their masters and to punish owners of beasts of burden for ill-feeding or overloading them. It was also his duty to see that foundlings committed to his care were properly looked after. Police regulations forbade the public sale of wine and the playing of musical instruments in public places and sanctioned the arrest of drunkards. Extortionate charges and counterfeiting of goods also came within his cognizance. The *Muhtasib* would go through the streets with a party of soldiers demolishing and raiding liquor-shops, distilleries and gambling dens wherever he found them. Sometimes of course, "his retainers had armed conflicts with ruffians who showed fight".

The control of public finance was vested in the *Mushir-i-Mal* or *Wazir-i-Mal* sometimes called the Dewan, who combined the functions of Collector-General and the Treasurer-General. The Finance Minister divided the country into several districts for purposes of revenue and classified the villages according as they: (i) were exempted from the payment of taxes; (ii) supplied soldiers for the defence of the country in lieu of taxes; (iii) paid taxes in kind, that is to say, grains, cattle or raw products; (iv) supplied free labour. The Dewan was expected to know all details of income and expenditure of the state. For the proper administration of the finances it was necessary to have a good system of keeping accounts, and all details were entered in the books, and subsequently audited by competent auditors. The chief sources of revenue were the property tax, capitation tax, land tax and war booty. These are discussed

under the revenue system of Kashmir.

Under the Mughals, the *Subedar* or governor took the place of the sovereign. He was officially called the *Nazim* or administrator of the province. His essential duties[3] were to maintain order, to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue and to execute the royal decrees and regulations sent to him. Under the *Subedar* were the provincial Dewan and the *Faujdar*. The *Krori* or collector of revenue was in charge of a district. His duty was the collection revenue without negligence and at the right time. He was not to demand *mahsul* from places not yet capable of paying. He was to urge his subordinates not to realize anything in excess of the regulations.

According to Lawrence, the institution of village officers in Kashmir dates from the times of the Mughals, though Stein remarks that a system of village administration is alluded to in more than one passage of the *Rajatarangini*.

The news-writer or *Waqia-navis* or *Sawanih nigar* or the *Khufia navis* (like our modern C. I. D. reporters) kept the central government informed of all that transpired in the province.

Handbooks were compiled for the guidance of subordinate officials and were called *Dastur-ul-Amal*. These contained forms for official documents and reports, etc., condensed abstracts, facts, figures and lists, and could be revised and brought up to date in successive reigns, and, in a sense, took the place of *Lokaprakasha* in Kashmir.

Kashmir, under the Sultans, had an experience of the system of administration under a regency also. On the death of Sultan Hasan Shah, when his son Muhammad Shah was about seven years of age, a regency was set up under the direction of Syed Hasan, a powerful noble of the state. Regencies, remarks Rodgers, have always been prolific in disturbances even in advanced countries where there is settled law; it is, therefore, no wonder that there were disturbances in Kashmir during this regency when Muhammad Shah was a minor. It is said that when the treasury was opened to the young king and the wealth of the state and its resources were exhibited to him, he laid hold of a

3 J. N. Sarkar's *Moghul Administration*, 1920, p. 81.

bow rather than on the gold and silver. From this the people augured that the prince would prove a brave and war-like ruler. It was at this time that the Raja of Jammu was a refugee in Kashmir against the tyranny of Tatar Khan Lodhi.

There was some trouble which ended in the death of the regent, whose place was taken by the uncle of the Sultan, who, in turn, was again supplanted by Fateh Khan subsequently known as Sultan Fateh Shah. Just about this time in England Edward V and his brother were murdered in the Tower. Fateh Shah, however, did not prove as bad as Richard III, in this respect, but, on the contrary, he so arranged that the food and drink of the prince was prepared under his directions, and the prince enjoyed his palace life. Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi made his appearance in Kashmir during those days. It appears that Fateh Shah had usurped the throne for some time and ruled as Sultan, but in course of time Muhammad Shah established himself firmly when Fateh Shah fled to India and died there. But Muhammad Shah, in gratitude for services during his early minority, brought back the dead body of Fateh Shah and had it buried near the tomb of Zain-ul-Abidin in 922 A.H. (1516 A.D.). Muhammad Shah was the contemporary of Ibrahim Lodhi.

Mirza Haidar Doghlat may also be said to have set up regency in Kashmir during his ten years' stay beginning with the 2nd of August 1541 A.D., Nazuk Shah, who is sometimes also called Nadir Shah, being a puppet in his hands and Mirza Haidar in his heart of hearts holding sway as a vicegerent of Humayun who was then fighting against his fortune.

The Arabs, says Von Kremer (*Orient Under The Caliphs*, S. Khuda Bukhsh's English Translation, p. 367) were the only people of the early middle ages who, in the development and scientific treatment of legal principles, achieved results which approached in their magnificent splendour those of the Romans, the law-givers of the world. Muhammadan jurisprudence accordingly occupies, in the words of Ameer Ali, a pre-eminent position among the various systems which have, at different times, been in force among different communities, and considering the circumstances under which it originated, the difficulties it had to contend with and the backward condition of the people among whom it attained its development, it may be regarded as one of

the grandest monuments of human intellect. The sacred fountain of the laws of the Muslim state was the *Qoran*. But as the empire grew the need for judicial formulae and judicial rules adapted the new conditions of life was keenly felt, and the pronouncements of the Prophet who combined in himself the offices of the ruler and the judge, "filled up the gaps which are to be found in the *Qoran* from the legislative point of view". These are what are called *hadis*. Besides this, the entire public and private life of the Prophet served as a standard to the Muslim as something to which he should industriously conform and live up to. Thus the life of the Prophet, his discourses and utterances, his actions, his silent approval and even his passive conduct, constituted, next to the *Qoran*, the second most important source of law for the Islamic Empire. The entire body of such traditions is called *Sunnah*. Gradually a school of law and traditions was established at Medina under the guidance—among others of Abdullah-ibn-i-Abbas. This school helped in the consolidation of *hadis*. At this time another school of jurisprudence came into being in Iraq. The activity of this latter was that of practical judges who did not confine to the *Qoran* and the *hadis* only but also made a liberal use of analogy and the deductive method (*Qiyas*). Thus, besides the *Qoran* and the *hadis*, juristic speculation added the deductive method which however was later supplemented by the agreement or concensus of the community (Ijma-ul-Umma) as the further sources of Muslim law. The chief exponent of this "speculative" school was Ibn Abi Layla.

Abu Hanifa, "the greatest jurist not merely of his age but of the entire Islamic world," appears to have been the first to lay the foundation of constitutional law which has been "the accepted basis for all later times". It is said that he instituted a committee consisting of forty men from amongst his principal disciples for the codification of the laws and it took thirty years to complete the task but the entire code is now unfortunately lost. The *Quduri*, however, gives us the best exposition of Abu Hanifa's system. He was, in the words of Von Kremer, the first to set up the principle that the life of an unbeliever or a slave was just as dear as that of a Muslim. He strove to mitigate the severity and harshness of the law of theft which was extremely

svere in Islam. He also took a lenient view of other offences; for instance, of blaspheming the Prophet. As regards the law of preemption Abu Hanifa made no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. These facts go to show that "he was a champion of leniency, toleration and mercy in an age of universal, unbridled fanaticism."

The school of theology and jurisprudence which Abu Hanifa founded became dominant in Baghdad shortly after his death. It was officially recognized by the Caliph of Baghdad, and bore the name of the Hanifite system, after him. Two of his disciples, Qazi Abu Yusuf and Muhammad Shaibani were the most learned doctors of this school. Malik, Shafai and Hanbal also founded schools of law which are known after them. These four schools are the authorities of the first rank whose decisions in legal matters are unchallenged and this is *fiqh* (literally, under standing or knowledge). We have, therefore, the *Qoran,* the *hadis,* and *fiqh* as the collective law of Islam. The commercial law of Islam shows traces of the Roman-Byzantine law on account of constant commerical intercourse between Arabia and the bordering Roman provinces. The Criminal Law though based essentially on the old Semitic foundation common alike to the Hebrews and the Arabs—has been considerably toned down by the Arabs. The Law of Marriage and Inheritance, in spite of the fact that the Hebrews and the Arabs are supposed to belong to the same family of nations and possessed old common Semitic institutions, are, says Von Kremer, essentially the original product of Islam. The Muslim Law of Inheritance, he adds, is bolder in its outline, more definite in its assignment of shares, more considerate to the other sex, and far more humane and refined than the Hebrew law.

Slavery existed among all the civilized nations of antiquity but Islam, says Von Kremer, improved the lot of the slaves and encouraged manumission. The Prophet found slavery existing among the pagan Arabs. He minimised the evil and at the same time laid down such strict rules that, in the words of Ameer Ali, but for the perversity of his followers, slavery as a social institution would have ceased to exist much earlier in Islam. Omar declared that no Arab could be a slave. He, moreover, ordered the manumission of slaves of non-Arab nationalities. The

Prophet, according to a tradition from Imam Jafar, declared the man who dealt in slaves as an outcast of humanity. The enfranchisement of slaves was pronounced to be the highest act of virtue. It must be remembered in passing that slavery by purchase was unknown during the lifetime of the Prophet and the first four Caliphs. The possession of a slave by the Qoranic laws was conditional on a *bona fide* war waged in self-defence against idolatrous enemies. Slavery by purchase flourished in the Persian and Byzantine Empires. It was Moawiyah who first introduced the practice of acquiring slaves by purchase. He was also the first to adopt the Byzantine custom of guarding his women by eunuchs. But Imam Jafar preached against every form of slavery. His views were accepted by several sections of Islam who gave it up.

It is notorious that the condition of women among the Arabs and the Jews before the advent of Islam was extremely degraded. Among the Athenians, the most civilized and most cultured of all the nations of antiquity, writes Ameer Ali, the wife was a mere chattel, marketable and transferable to others and a subject of testamentary disposition. She was regarded in the light of an evil, indispensable for the ordering of the household and procreation of children. An Athenian was allowed to have any number of wives and Demosthenes gloried in the possession by his people of three classes of women, two of which furnished the legal and semi-legal wives. Among the Romans, also, polygamy flourished in a more or less pronounced form until forbidden by the laws of Justinian. But the prohibition contained in the civil law, continues Ameer Ali, effected no change in the moral ideas of the people and polygamy continued to be practised until condemned by the opinion of modern society. Even the clergy, frequently forgetting their vows of celibacy, contracted more than one legal or illegal union. The German reformers even so late as the sixteenth century admitted the validity of a second or third marriage contemporaneously with the first, in default of issue and other similar causes. Among the Hindus polygamy prevailed from the earliest times. There was no restriction as to the number of wives a man might have. A high caste Brahmin even in modern times is privileged to marry as many wives as he chooses. Who knows that polygamy

may not find a vogue in the West in course of time on account of the loss of manhood during the Great War? At any rate, it has its advocates in present day Europe. Islam, however, restricts the number to four and the conditions imposed are such as to make it extremely difficult for the husband to have them at the same time.

Under the Islamic laws, writes Ameer Ali, a woman occupies a superior legal position to that of her English sister. As long as she is unmarried, she remains under the parental roof and until she attains her majority she is, to some extent under the control of her father or his representative. As soon however, as she is of age, the law vests in her all the rights which belong to her as an independent human being. On her marriage she does not lose her individuality. She does not cease to be a separate member of society and her existence does not "merge" in that of her husband. No doctrine of "coverture" is recognised and her property remains hers in her individual right. A Muslim marriage, continues Ameer Ali, is a civil act, needing no Mulla, requiring no sacred rite. The rights of a wife as a wife or as a mother do not depend for their recognition upon the idiosyncracies of individual judges. She can enter into binding contracts with her husband and proceed against him in law, if necessary. But, of course, remarks Ameer Ali, there may be secret tyrannies in Asia as there may be in America, but the excesses of a Muslim husband find no sanction either in the silence or in the provision of the actual code. If he does wrong, he does it as wrong and with the fear of punishment in his heart. The whole history of Muslim legislation, concludes Ameer Ali, is a standing rebuke to those who consider that the position of women under the Islamic laws is one of exceptional severity and degradation.

Having discussed the question of the legal status of women in Islam, let us now turn to the system of their seclusion as Islam is very often assailed for having introduced it. This is really contrary to facts as this system had been in practice among most of the nations of antiquity from the earliest times. Even the Athenians seem to have observed the custom in all its strictness, says Ameer Ali. The Prophet recommended its observance as he perceived some advantages in it on account of the state of society existing at the time. But it is a mistake to

suppose that there is anything in the law which tends to the perpetuation of the custom, though it must be admitted that the Prophet's recommendation undoubtedly stemmed the tide of immorality and prevented the diffusion of the custom of disguised polyandry. The depravity of morals was then sapping the foundations of society among pre-Islamic Arabs, and among Jews and Chritians. The *Harem* is sanctuary of conjugal happiness. It is prohibited to strangers, not because women are deemed unworthy of confidence, but on account of the sacredness with which customs and manners invest them. Within the sacred precincts of the *Zenana* the wife reigns supreme. The husband has no authority within that circle, and frequently he cannot enter it without his wife's permission. The present backward condition of women in India, rightly remarks Mr. Ameer Ali, is the result of want of culture rather than of any especial feature in the Islamic laws or institutions.

This much about law. Now a word about its administration. The right to administer the laws, as well as the affairs generally of the community, says Mr. (now Sir) Abdur Rahim, belongs to the community itself which may exercise the right through its chosen representatives. The administration of the state in the olden days was entrusted to Imams or Caliphs. The Imam or the Caliph was the executive head or chief of the Muslim state. He was not vested with any legislative power and was bound by the laws like any other person. He was subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of the courts though it may be that, as he was the chief of the executive and had thus control of the administrative machinery, it practically depended upon his pleasure whether he would submit to the decrees and sentences of the courts or not. The Muhammadan law, continues Sir Abdur Rahim, does not concede to any individual any of those powers and prerogatives which are ordinarily the essential attributes of sovereignty, which in the Muslim system primarily belongs to God. But as God has delegated to the people powers of legislation and of absolute control over the administration, it must be held that next to God the sovereign power resides in the people. It would also appear that the Islamic law does not admit of the sovereign power being dissociated from the people, however, they might choose to exercise it.

The law apparently contemplates that there should be a single Muslim state and that the Caliph, as its chief representative, should administer the executive affairs of the community living within such state through his delegates and governors. But where there is no *de jure* Imam or Caliph, there seems to be nothing in the law which precludes the recognition of politically independent Muslim states, as in fact has been the case after the extinction of the Abbaside Caliphate.

We have, so far, briefly discussed the development of Islamic law, its salient features and its administration. It now remains for us to see what form of Islamic law was introduced into Kashmir. The particular forms of Islamic faith and practice now prevalent in India, writes Mr. A. Yusuf Ali in his Historical and Descriptive Introduction to Wilson's *Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, are naturally those followed by the bulk of the original immigrants. The first Arab canquerors of Sind came from Iraq which was the cradle of the Hanafi School as we have seen already. Then, Mahmud of Ghazni who invaded India was a Persian-speaking Turk and the Turks were generally Sunnis of the Hanafi School. Moreover, Mahmud was a nominal vassal of the Caliph of Baghdad who belonged to that persuasion. By the time that the Muhammadan conquest of Hindustan was completed, continues Mr. Yusuf Ali, Hanbalism and Shafaism had ceased to count for much in the great law-schools of Khorasan and Mavara-un-Nahr which were the chief recruiting ground of the *Ulema* of Islam in India. The real struggle in those regions was between Hanafis and Shias. Bulbul Shah who introduced Islam in Kashmir appears to have been a Sunni of the Hanafi School. Though Shah Hamadan who exercised tremendous influence in the spread of Islam in Kashmir was of a different persuasion, namely, Hanbali, he is said to have urged the continuance of the Hanafi law in reverence to the memory of Bulbul Shah. This explains the presence of the followers of Abu Hanifa in such overwhelming numbers in Kashmir. Shams-ud-Din Iraqi's arrival introduced Shia doctrines and his followers adopted the Shia law. Bulbul Shah was a Syed of Turkistan and as he was the first to preach Islam in Kashmir, we can easily understand the transplanting of Muhammadan law from Central Asia into the Valley of Kashmir.

With the advent of Islam in Kashmir, law may be said to have two broad divisions, the *Shariat* and the positive law, though in the beginning both the divisions were dealt with together, and no sharp line was drawn between the two the distinction was more or less clearly understood. People must have been cognizant of the fact that the sanction for the first kind was religious and that for the second. social or political. Direct legislation, as we understand it now, was obviously impossible in early times, but indirect methods were available. Law could not be made, but it could be declared. The Sultan with or without consulting his dignitaries issued ordinances. For instance, Sultan Ala-ud-Din made a law according to which no bad women was to have any inheritance from her husband. This restrained the women and is said to have acted well.

Sikandar's law forbad *sati* and the use of wine throughout his dominions. Zain-ul-Abidin had his cabinet for consultation regarding the framing of important laws, a noteworthly feature of this cabinet was the presence in it of the chief leading scholars of the day. He accordingly drew up a code and had most of his commands inscribed on copper tables and sent them to every town and village. The Sultan's law of theft is noteworthy. If any theft occurred, the headman of the village or town where the theft occurred was held responsible. The result was that theft was banished from the country. As noted by Rodgers, he made a covenant with the Hindus that he would rule them according to their own laws.

It may here be stated on the authority of Sir Roland Wilson (*vide* his *Introduction to the Study of Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, p. 75) that the continued existence of flourishing schools of Hindu law all through the Muhammadan period in India and also from the careful preservation of old and the very extensive production of new commentaries, it may be safely inferred that there was plenty of work for Brahmin judges to do and that the threat of ex-communication would usually suffice to secure obedience to their decisions within their self-centred caste bodies without resorting to the Muslim Qazi. The Hindu authors of some of the commentaries held high posts under Muslim rulers. Disputes between Hindus and Muslims would naturally not turn upon family relations or inheritance but would arise either

out of contracts at the great centres of trade or out of personal wrongs. These could, of course, come under the cognizance of Muslim tribunals but whether of a Qazi or a law official would depend on circumstances. In the department of contract, continues Sir Roland Wilson, the Hindus had no special reason for clinging to their own usages in preference to the full and clear precepts of the Muhammadan law. Mr. Neil B.E. Baillie (in his *Muhammadan Law of Sale)* thinks that Muhammadan law of sale regulated the dealings not only of Muslims with Hindus but of Hindus with each other and it is certain that one of its rules, at all events, that of pre-emption, governed—as it governs today in the Punjab—all sales of land irrespective of the creed of the proprietors. As regards criminal law the *Shariat* itself made provision for the exemption of non-Muslims from some of its penal rules, for instance, from the punishment for drinking wine.

During Mughal and Afghan rule, Kashmir was a province subject to important laws administered from the Mughal and Afghan capitals, though the provincial governors did issue regulations which may be regarded as bye-laws.

In order to be able to understand the revenue system of Kashmir it would be well to have a glance at the system of revenue in Muslim India. The period of the Tughlaqs would perhaps give us the right clue as the early Sultans of Kashmir were the contemporaries of the Tughlaqs of Hindustan. We shall single out the reign of Feroz Shah, the contemporary of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din of Kashmir, as a type for its peace, plenty and orderly government. Apart from the land revenue in Feroz Shah's time, there were the following sources of state revenue, sources on which imposts were levied[4]: (1) market due; (2) brokerage (of bazaars); (3) slaughter-houses ; (4) leaders of music and dancing; (5) perfumery; (6) betel; (7) octroi; (8) books; (9) indigo; (10) fish; (11) cotton cleaning; (12) soap manufacture; (13) silk; (14) ghee; (15) parched grain; (16) ground rent of

4 From فتوحات فیروزشاهی *vide* E. Thomas' *Revenue Sources of the Moghul Empire*, London, 1871. The fiist twenty-three were abolished by Feroz Shah in 1375 A.D.

stalls in markets; (17) gambling houses; (18) fees to heads of trades; (19) fees to Kotwals; (20) fees to Inspector of markets; (21) house-tax; (22) pasture-tax; (23) Fines and amercements; (24) vakaat,' that is 21 per cent of property or *Mal-i-Nisab*; (25) *jezia* or capitation tax on non-Muslims;[5] (26) *res relicta* or *Mal-i-Lawaris*; (27) one-fifth of all spoils and produce of mines. The land revenue was assessed at one-tenth on the cultivated land.

More or less the same must have been the heads of revenue in Kashmir. We shall first begin with land-revenue.

Under the Islamic law, according to the *Hidaya*, the well-known treatise on Islamic law, upon everything produced from the ground there is due a tenth or *Ushr* whether the soil be watered by the annual overflow of rivers or by periodical rains excepting upon articles of wood, bamboos or grass, which are not subject to tithe. Lands watered by means of buckets or machinery such as the Persian wheel or by watering canals are subject to only half tithes. This rule of taking one-tenth the produce as land revenue was, however, scarcely followed in India and Muslim rulers realised what they could. The immemorial tradition in Kashmir considered the whole of the land as the property of the ruler. Of some portions of the *khalisa* lands (*viz.*, lands belonging to the state) the sovereigns divested themselves by grants in *jagir* for various periods. As we are concerned with the Muslim period, we shall begin with Sultan Shams-ud-Din as we can hardly get material for the reign of Ratanju or Renchan Shah.

According to Firishta, Sultan Shams-ud-Din (in 1341 A.D.) fixed the revenue at one-sixth of the produce. Abul Fazl says the Sultan levied a tax of one-sixth[6] on all imports into Kashmir. During the reign of Sikandar, Siya But had imposed food rates, which Zain-ul-Abidin abolished altogether.

5 It must be noted here that the *jezia* was sometimes collected, sometimes not (*vide* Sir Ronald Wilson's *Introduction to the Study of Anglo Muhammadan Law*, London, 1894, p. 75). It was just like the *zakat* due from Muslims, though as a matter of fact, as Mr. A. Yusuf Ali puts it, it was rather the exception than the rule for the *jezia* to be exacted.

6 This is from Firishta *vide Ain*, vol. ii, p. 387 note.

It is on record that Zain-ul-Abidin revised the land assessment fixing it at one-fourth of the total produce in some places and at one-seventh in others. As Shams-ud-Din had fixed his revenue at only one-sixth of the produce, it must have either been enhanced by his successors, or perhaps Zain-ul-Abidin's long and peaceful rule by adding to the prosperity of the people and by his extensive irrigation works must have enormously increased the area of cultivation. The rice crop alone is said to have gone up to 77 lakhs of *kharwars.* (Note: under Sikh rule, in Moorcroft's days, it was reduced to 20 lakhs of *kharwars.*)[7] The village folk and farmers were protected from the exactions of revenue officers by a law which prohibited the latter from accepting any gifts, or, as Rodger puts it, Zain-ul-Abidin forbad the acceptance of gifts by tahsildars. The length of the *jarib* was added to for the benefit of the landholder.

Abul Fazl notes that the system of revenue in Kashmir was by appraisement and division of crops, assessments for crops paying special rates and cash transactions were not the custom of the country. Some part of the *Sair Jihat* cesses (meaning a variety of imposts as customs, transit dues, houses, fees, market taxes) were, however, taken in cash. Payments in coin and kind were estimated, in *kharwars of shali* (unpounded rice). "Although one-third had been for a long time past the nominal share of the state, more than two shares was actually taken." But it appears that Akbar reduced the assessment to one-half, and also remitted cesses known as *baj* and *tamgha* (probably signifying inland tolls). The whole kingdom was divided under its ancient rulers into two divisions *Mar-Raj* on the east and *Kam-Raj* on the west. In the 34th year of his reign, Akbar visited Kashmir and issued several orders regarding the taxation of the country and fixed the land-tax at one-fourth. This was during the governorship of Mirza Yusuf Khan who was much liked by the people. In the 39th year of Akbar's reign, Asaf Khan was sent to Kashmir, the Mirza having been re-called. Asaf Khan re-distributed the lands of the *jagir* holders. The cultivation of *Zafran* (saffron) and hunting were declared monopolies and the revnue was fixed according to the assessment of Qazi Ali, the *Mir Bukhshi*.

7 *Ain*, vol. ii, pp. 366, note.

Early in Akbar's time the total revenue of Kashmir was fixed at 22 lakhs *kharwars*.[8] In 1648 in Shah Jahan's time[9] it was Rs. 37,50,000; in 1664 during Aurangzeb's rule it was Rs. 28,59,750 while in 1707 before his death it was Rs. 57,47,734.

The Afghan rule more or less followed the Mughals, but their exactions were severe.

The Sikhs made a general resumption of all *jagirs* and ousted the possessors of grants. The result was that thousands were reduced to destitution.

As Cunningham puts it, the standard coin type of Kashmir remained unchanged from the type of Kanishka in 78 A.D. down to the Muhammadan conquest in 1339 A.D. or for 1261 years, but it is unfortunate that, like the Kashmir mason of Muslim rule, the die sinkers of that period are disappointing.

The late Mr. C. J. Rodgers. Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, had made a detailed study of the coins of Kashmir and his contributions to the "Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society" are valuable for dealing with the Islamic period of the Kashmirian history. Two things emerge out of his criticism (a) that the coins of the Sultans of Kashmir have very little artistic value, and (b) their dates in many cases are confusing. Even the most casual observer would agree with Mr. Rodgers and accept his criticism. But I believe several of the coins examined by him must have been spurious as the craze for coin-collection appears to have led cheats to find scope for their activities by counterfeiting old coins, just as the craze for stamp-collection gives rise to the preparation of counterfeit stamps. At any rate, the Sultans could not be so foolish as to give the same dates on the coins of different rulers. But it is not improbable that rival factions who set up rival Sultans on the throne may have struck coins or even given currency to their respective coinage as we shall presently note in the case of Salim Shah Sur and Akbar much before the latter's conquest of Kashmir.

Some of the points calling for notice in the coins of the Sultans of Kashmir may be summed up as follows: (l) On some coins the dates are given in two ways in figures and in

8 *Ain*, vol. i, p. 346.

9 E Thomas' *Revenue Sources of the Moghul Empire*, p. 52.

words. Some have only the words. (2) In some cases the date is in Arabic words, in others in Persian. (3) The coins vary very little and there is a certain monotony about them. (4) They are all square, and have the same kind of lozenge on the reverse, namely. *Zarab-i-Kashmir.* (5) 'Naib-i-Khalifa-tur-Rahman' or, in some, 'Naib-i-Amir-ul-Mominin' was the regal title used. In some of the coins the honorary titles of 'Munir-ud-Din' and 'Nasir-ud-Din' have also been noticed. (6) Srinagar, or as it is also called Kashmir, was the only mint town during the Hindu, and the entire Muslim rule. Some coins give *khitta* as the title of the mint town, others *shahr* (vide Dr. Codrington's *Musalman Numismatics*, published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904). (7) At the close of Hindu rule copper coins were the only coins, but in Zain-ul-Abidin's reign silver coins were struck. (8) The weight of the square silver coins varies from 91 to 96 grains. The weight of the copper coins averages about 83 grains. Stein says that Sultan Hasan Shah re-issued the old *Punsu* in a debased form owing to financial pressure. (9) In the case of the halves of some coins, each Sultan seems to have had a style of his own. It is curious that coins have been discovered of Islam Shah Suri who never ruled in Kashmir. Probably they are an evidence of the conspiracy against Mirza Haidar Doghlat who was then in Kashmir and remind us of the medals struck by Napoleon in anticipation of his imaginary conquest of England. Again, Mr. Rodgers came across Akbar's coins struck in Kashmir as early as 965 A.H. (1557 A.D.) and another one of 987 A.H. (1579 A.D.). The explanation is that these coins were either complimentary or else struck by factions who were plotting against their rulers aud desirous of obtaining Akbar for their king. The state Museum at Srinagar has a collection of Kashmiri coins during the rule of the Sultans and Mughal Emperors and Afghan rulers. Akbar had a fine currency in gold and silver and Srinagar retained its seat as a mint-town under the Mughals. The finest Mughal currency was that of Jahangir some of whose coins are of great artistic merit. With the accession of Aurangzeb a standard type of coin was adopted which endured till the end of the Mughal dynasty.

Now about the value of coins. The *Cowree* was from early

times used as a monetary token in Kashmir as elsewhere in India. Eight *Cowrees* in Kashmir were equal to one *Bahgain*, two *Bahgain* were equal to one *Punsu*, four *punsus* made on *Hath*, ten *hath* were equal to one *Sasun* (*or Sas*), hundred *sasun* equal to one *Laksa*, hundred *laksa* equal to one *Koti* (Crore). The *hath* is represented now by the pice or one sixty-fourth of a rupee. In Akbar's time the term 'hath' applied to a copper coin equivalent to one 'dam' or one-fortieth of a rupee, the *sasun* was equal to ten 'dams' or $\frac{1}{4}$th of a rupee. The payments in kind were all reduced into equivalents in Dams. It may be noted that in ancient Kashmir the value of a *Dinar* was so small as to be equal to one-twelfth of a *Bahgain*.

E. *Thomas* (*in Marsden's Numismata Orientalia*, 1874, p. 67) has extracted the following weights, current in Kashmir, from Gladwin's *Ain-i-Akbari*:

> 1 Tola=16 *Mashas* of 6 *Ratis* each or 96 *Ratis*.
> 1 Gold Mohur=16 dams of 6 *Ratis* each, 96 *Ratis*, or 4 *Ratis* more than the Delhi gold mohur.
> Rabsansu is a small coin of 9 *Mashas* or 54 *Ratis*.
> *Punchee* is a copper coin, in value $\frac{1}{4}$ dam, also called *Kussereh*.
> *Bahgain* is $\frac{1}{2}$ the *punchee* or $\frac{1}{8}$ dam.
> *Shukri* is $\frac{1}{4}$ *Bahgain*.
> 4 *Punchees* or *Kusserehs*=1 hut
> 40 ,, ,, ,, =1 *Sansu* and
> $1\frac{1}{2}$ *Sansu*=1 sikka.
> 100 *Sansu*=1 lak=1000 royal dams.

According to Abul Fazl (vide Jarrett's *Ain*, vol. ii, p. 366) seven and a half *Pals* in Kashmir were considered equivalent to one *Ser*, two *Sers* equal to half a *Man* and four *Ser* to a *Tarak* and sixteen *Taraks* to one *Kharwar* (or ass load) or abbreviated as *Khar*. A *Tarak*, according to the royal weights of Akbar was equal to 8 *Sers*. The actual *Ser* was not about one pound avoirdupois. A horse-load equalled 22 *Taraks*.
The measures are as follows:

16 Giras = 1 Gaz.
20 Giras = 1 Gaz in measuring Pashmina cloth.

At present, land measures are calculated not by length and breadth but by the amount of seed required by certain areas of rice-cultivation. Lawrence found by measurements that the *Kharwar* of land—that is the rice area which is supposed to require a *Kharwar* weight of rice-seed exactly corresponds to 4 British acres.

In Zain-ul-Abidin's time the length of the yard and the chain was increased but the exact addition is not known.

Roads in Kashmir in the sense in which we understand them now, never existed. Probably the waterways were in most frequent use. For purposes of traffic, however, there were a sort of roads along which ponies and bullocks could pass and villages were connected by means of paths. What roads, however, did exist were really tracks. These tracks were nevertheless well-shaded by trees and the traveller could always find rest underneath the shady planes and walnuts, and delicious water from the innumerable springs. Mulberries, apricots, apples, pears and walnuts were in abundance on the roads and supplied sumptuous food for the wayfarer whom nobody grudged these delicious fruits. In Mirza Haidar's time, it appears that the streets of Srinagar were paved with cut stone (Briggs, vol. iv, p. 445). East and south of Srinagar run magnificent poplar avenues but the oldest and finest, says Lawrence, was planted by Ata Muhammad Khan, one of the Pathan governor's and leads almost to the foot of the Takht-i-Sulaiman.

About bridges we have already discussed under architecture in Chapter VIII.

Kashmir possesses a large area of alluvial soil on account of its system of rivers. But the Kashmiris have given the greatest attention to the rice crop only. Some of the other crops are maize, wheat, cotton, saffron, barley, pulses, etc.

As the cultivation of saffron in India is confined to Kashmir only it deserves to be specially noted. Its introduction dates back to the days of King Lalitaditya. Pampur is the place where it is largely cultivated. The flowering time is about the middle of October. And if the weather is calm and still, as

generally happens at this time of the year, there is a distinctly noticeable fragrance pervading the whole atmosphere of the fields which is delightfully pleasing to the senses and produces a subtle vivacity of spirits. "This is the origin of the traditional reputation that saffron fields, when the flower, promote spontaneous and uncontrollable mirth in anyone who visits them." The root of the plant resembles the root of the onion.

A peculiar and very interesting form of cultivation is provided by the floating gardens on the Dal, which produce several kinds of vegetables, e.g., melons, tomatoes, watermelons, cucumbers, gourds, etc. It is said that there is nothing like it elsewhere in India but a parallel has been quoted by Lawrence in the "Chinampas" of Old Mexico. The floating gardens consist of strips about five feet wide of the matted roots-grass which along with the soil adhering to those roots, are cut out and then actually float on the water. Strength enough to bear the weight of a man is imparted to them by super-imposing one of these strips over another. These strips can be towed about, hence the mystifying saying that lands can be stolen in Kashmir. These strips function like ordinary soil in productivity even though they have no sub-soil to rest upon. The floating gardens produce abundant vegetables, but as they are very watery, the vegetables have a slightly inferior flavour. (Jammu and Kashmir State Handbook, 1924.)

Kashmir is the country of fruits, says Lawrence, and perhaps no country has greater facilities for horticulture, as the indigenous apple, pear, vine, mulberry, walnut, hazel, cherry, peach, apricot, raspberry, gooseberry, currant, and strawberry can be obtained without great difficulty in most parts of the valley, and they come in a pleasant and changing succession. The delicious cherry called *Gilas* which is said to be a corruption of *Cerasus*, was introduced from Europe via Arabia, Persia and Afghanistan.

Tea is said to have been imported into the valley by Mirza Haidar Doghlat. The climate of the valley, however, does not produce sugar, mango, orange plantain and such other fruits as require a warmer atmosphere.

Among arboricultural trees the place of honour belongs to the magnificent chenar planted throughout the valley by the Mughals.

The Nasim is entirely a chenar grove and everywhere over the whole valley these trees are found in camping grounds where they afford a cool and very welcome shade even in the hottest part of the day.

In addition to the mulberry and the walnut, which are, however, out of consideration on account of their extreme usefulness the one for purposes of silk-sericulture and the other for the wood-carving industry, there are two other very common arboricultural trees, namely, the poplar and the willow. Poplars are found chiefly alongside roads and are often planted along the boundary lines of orchards and small holdings. The willow is grown along the river banks in most of the swampy grounds and close to dwelling houses in the villages.

The long and peaceful reign of Zain-ul-Abidin, in the words of Stein (*Raj.*, vol. 2, p. 428) was productive of important irrigation works. Jonaraja's and Srivara's chronicles give a considerable list of canals constructed under the Sultan. Among these the canal which distributed the water of the Pohur river over the Zainagir Pargana and one by which the water of the Lidar was conducted to the arid plateau of Martanda deserve special mention.

Native historians, says Lawrence, record nineteen great famines regarding which they give gruesome details but the important fact on which they are all agreed is that the famines were caused by early snows or heavy rain occurring at the time when the autumn harvest was ripening. A Kashmir *Pir* once remarked to me at Dalhousie that Kashmir never suffered famine from want of water but invariably from excess of water. His remark fully supports what Lawrence wrote. This is how famines occurred in Kashmir but how they were met with we have no definite means of knowing. A severe famine, however, is recorded in the time of Zain-ul-Abidin. The Sultan, says Rodgers, distributed amongst the people the contents of the granaries and although the famine was severe, it was successfully met. The Sultan reduced taxation thereafter to a fourth part of the produce in some places and to a seventh in others.

In the time of Ali Mardan Khan, Shah Jahan's governor of the valley, there was also a severe famine in Kashmir. But the governor distinguished himself by the energy with which he

imported grain from the Punjab and saved the valley from starvation.

In early Islam, Muslim troops in their wars with the Byzantines learnt the advantages of Roman military method and adopted them as their models. The Arabs copied the Romans in most of their military practices both in the army and in strategy. By the tenth century of the Christian era, however Muslim armies had acquired an art of war of their own. They had advanced very considerably in fortification, and had learnt how to layout and entrench their camps and how to place pickers and vedettes. The royal bodyguards formed regular troops and the rest of the army consisted of the war bands of chiefs, miscellaneous bands of mercenary adventurers or the general levies of tribes and districts. The army made itself formidable on account of its numbers and extraordinary powers of locomotion. The formation of the troops was generally like this: over every ten men was an *Arif*, over every 100 a *Naqib*, over every ten *Naqibs* of 1,000 men a *Qaid* and over every ten *Qaids* of 10,000 men an *Amir*. The arms consisted of sword and shield, bow and arrow, lance and javelin, and later on, *Manjaniq* and *Arradah* (ballista, catapult). There were suitable arrangements for baggage and provisions.

As, however, the Turks and Persians began to enter the armies they gradually transformed the system into military fiefs as was then the case in the West. Every Amir, as it were, received a town or a district as a fief in which he exercised unlimited powers and the privileges of a feudal lord like a baron. He had to pay to the sovereign yearly tribute, and, in time of war, supply a fixed number of troops which had to be maintained and equipped at his cost in order to serve the sovereign. This same system was set up in the Islamic world throughout, even in Persia and India.[10] In Kashmir, as we shall see later on, feudal chiefs known as *Maliks* were responsible for guarding the routes of the valley and held fortified posts with garrisons all over the frontier stations and acted as the wardens of the marches. Nature protected the valley by an encircling and impregnable wall of hills. From an early period, the people of Kashmir have been wont

10 S. Khuda Bukhsh's *Orient Under the Caliphs* Calcutta, p. 2 66.

to pride themselves on their country's safety from foreign invasion, a feeling justified by the strength of their natural defences. We find it alluded to, says Stein, by Kalhana who speaks of Kashmir as unconquerable by force of arms and of the protection afforded by its mountain walls. This feeling is also very clearly reflected in all foreign records of the country.

The rulers of Kashmir took advantage of these natural defences and bestowed anxious care in constructing fortified posts all over the frontiers on all regularly used passes leading into the valley. The forts were committed to the charge of feudal chiefs known as *Maliks*. These *Maliks* held hereditary charge of all important passes and enjoyed certain privileges in return for this duty.

"Although righteous warfare was supported and even extolled in olden times", says Dr. P. Banerjea,[11] "the ancient teachers did not regard war in general as a profitable business. They seem to have clearly realised the fact that war inflicts heavy losses on both parties and that even the victorious party does not derive much advantage from it." The spirit of this quotation, it would appear, must have influenced the enlightened rulers of the Valley of Kashmir in the early and the middle ages of the history of the land, as throughout we find the Kashmir has, barring a few instances, never been an aggressive state. But the maintenance of state must necessarily involve the maintenance of armies and Kashmir has had to bear its share. But nature has helped the Happy Valley in lightening its cares in matter of its defence. In the words of Sharaf-ud-Din Ali Yazdi, the historian of Timur, the country is protected naturally by its mountains on every side, so that the inhabitants without the trouble of fortifying themselves are safe from the attacks of enemies. Nor have they, continues Yazdi, anything to fear from the revolutions worked by time, or by the rain or by the wind, though, of course, we should not understand Yazdi to refer to crops that were spoilt by excessive rain or winds that blew houses to ashes in conflagrations.

The main divisions of the army in Kashmir during Muslim rule were Infantry and Cavalry and the relative usefulness of

11 *Public Administration in Ancient India*, London, p. 221.

the divisions evidently depended on the seasons and the nature of the operations in which the army was engaged. The families of Magres and Chaks supplied the officers of the army almost throughout the reigns of the Sultans of Kashmir. They were the bravest of the people of the land and soon became proficient in the art of war. Regiments had distinguishing flags and badges and also different kind of trumpets, kettle drums and conch-shells and communications were made by homing pigeons and various other devices. The weapons used were sword, shield, bow, arrow, lance and javelin; warriors were also clad in armour made in iron or skin. In the arrangement of troops veterans and soldiers noted for their strength and courage were naturally stationed in the van and in position of danger, while the weaker combatants formed the rear of the army. It seems to have been the practice for the king or the commander to address words of encouragement to the soldiers.

It not having been possible for me to get any useful information about military organization during the reign of Sultan Sadr-ud-Din (Ratanju or Renchan Shah) except that his brother-in-law was his commander-in-chief who embraced Islam, we shall start with Sultan Shams-ud-Din (Shah Mir). This Sultan raised two families to eminence, the Chaks and Magres, and from these two families the chief generals and leaders and soldiers were drawn as already noticed elsewhere. During the reign of Ala-ud-Din, the son and successor of Sultan Shams-ud-Din, we have nothing noteworthy to record and, therefore, pass on to Sultan Shihab-ud-Din, the younger brother of Ala-ud-Din. "He was a great conqueror," says Rodgers,[12] and "the day that passed without the receipt of a report of some victory or other obtained by his troops, he did not count as a day of his life. Qandhar and Ghazni feared him. He himself went to Peshawar and threaded the passes of the Hindu Kush." He planted his tents on the banks of the Satluj and, in the way, the Raja of Nagarkot (Kangra), gave in his submission. This raja was just returning from a plundering expedition in the direction of Delhi and part of the plunder was given as a present to Shihab-ud-Din. Little Tibet also sent a message desiring peace. We have again to pass over the reign of Hindal or Sutlan Qutb-

12 *J.A.S.B.*, No. 2, 1885, p. 99.

ud-Din and to come to that of his son, Sikandar, who ascended the throne about the end of the reign of Richard II of England. Sikandar was a brave prince and had undaunted courage. He conquered Tibet. His political sagacity saved Kashmir from the visit of Timur and all that it may have brought in its train. His tactful handling of the situation, on the other hand, brought him presents from the great Central Asian conqueror.

When Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin succeeded to the throne the army consisted of 100,000 infantry and 30,000 cavalry. His organization of the army was so skilful that there was hardly any possibility of an internal rebellion or rising or an external aggression. His charming personality had a magnetic effect on his officers who were ever ready to meet any foe and to take their men right unto the jaws of death. He extended his sway over the Punjab[13] right from Peshawar to Sarhind (then regarded as the south-eastern frontier town of the Punjab from the days of the Ghaznavids). In the course of his conquest of the Punjab his halt at Amritsar and the digging of the Bud Khu there, have already been noticed. Western Tibet was also added to his dominions. Tibet, it may be noted in passing, was to Kashmir as Algiers or Tunis was to France in the eighties of the last century. According to Abul Fazl the Sultan also overran Sind.[14]

Zain-ul-Abidin had friendly relations with his neighbours and sent ambassadors to the king of Khorasan, Turkistan, Siestan, the rulers of Turkey, and of Egypt, Bahlol Lodhi, Sultan Mahmmud of Gujrat, and the Sherif of Mecca. Abu Said, the grandfather of Babur, sent him a present of horses, mules and camels.

Fireworks were employed as an additional weapon by the soldiery of Zain-ul-Abidin and Chunnu, an expert, was commissioned to teach the art and Jab, says Rodgers, made gunpowder in Kashmir.

After a long and prosperous rule extending over 52 years Zain-ul-Abidin died at the age of 69. During the reign of his successor, Haidar Shah Adam or Adham Khan marching

13 Lawrence, *The Valley*, p. 192.

14 Jarrett's *Ain*, vol. ii, p. 388—"Zain-ul-Abidin overran Tibet and Sind."

down to Jammu made himself in useful courageously resisting the Mughals who were then disturbing the land. Adam Khan gave up his life rather than submit to the Mughals. Fateh Khan, Adham Khan's son, was at this time at Sarhind reducing forts and towns by order of Haidar Shah. On hearing of his father's death he had to hasten to Kashmir. In the reign of Hasan Shah, the son of Haidar, Tatar Khan Lodhi, it appears, reestablished the sovereignty of Delhi over the Punjab and began to harass the borders of Jammu, the raja of which place applied for assistance to Kashmir.* Malik Bari was deputed by the Sultan who encountered Tatar Khan Lodhi and devastated the Punjab and destroyed Sialkot. On further pressure, latter on, from Tatar Khan Lodhi, the Raja of Jammu had to seek refuge in Kashmir. In the time of Muhammad Shah, even Ibrahim Lodhi,** the emperor of Delhi, had to take shelter in Kashmir on account of disturbances in his own dominion.

In the early days of Sultan Nazuk (or Nadir) Shah, the Tibetans made an incursion into Kashmir. An army was expeditiously despatched to Tibet by way of Lar. Forts and palaces surrendered one after the other when the Tibetans sued for peace.

Kashmir soldiery had thus won many a battle, and fought many a formidable foe during the rule of the Sultans of Kashmir but internal dissension proved their undoing when the warlike families of Chaks and Magres whom Sultan Shams-ud-Din had first raised to eminence fought between themselves espousing the cause of rival claimants to the throne, Kashmir became the scene of internal strife. The schism between the Sunni and the Shia further weakened the tottering strength of the rulers of the land. Mughals who were hovering on the borders entered the valley first under Mirza Haidar Doghlat and later under Akbar and subdued it.

**C. J. Rodgers* says: "At that time the Raja of Jammu was a refugee in Kashmir from the tyranny of Tatar Khan Lodhi the governor of the Punjab" (*vide* his article, "The Square Silver Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir," *J.A S. B.*, No. 2, 1885, p. 109).

**The exact of words of Rodgers are: "Ibrahim Lodhi, owing to disturbances in Delhi took refuge in Kashmir," *Ibid.*, p. 113.

When Mughal rule was fully established in the valley, a part of the grand army was withdrawn and the local militia consisting of 4,892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry were trusted to control the defences of the land of the Koshur. The history of subsequent military organisation of Kashmir merges into the military history of the Mughals and the Afghans whose province Kashmir then became.

The vicissitudes of fortune are hardly less striking than in the case of Kashmir which at one time gave shelter to one Emperor of Hindustan (Ibrahim Lodhi) while at another, another Emperor of Hindustan (Akbar) reduced the Sultan of Kashmir (Yaqub Shah, son of Yusuf Shah Chak) to the status of a refugee in a far-off corner (near Patna) of his kingdom. Again, the ruler of Jammu, as we have already seen, ran to Kashmir and implored for help, the wheel was turned and the ruler of Jammu is now the master of the valley. Not only this, but the entire character of the Kashmiri is changed and he is dubbed "a coward, frightened to touch a gun".

But it must be remembered that nobody can escape calumny be he as pure as snow, and "the vulgar," says Hume, "are apt to carry all national characters to extremes, and having once established it as a principal that any people are knavish or cowardly or ignorant, they will admit of no exception, but comprehend every individual under the same censure." "Men of sense" continues Hume, "condemn these indistinguishing judgments, though at the same time, they allow that each nation has a peculiar set of manners and that some particular qualities are more frequently to be met with among one people than among their neighbours." [Further on, Hume assigns different reasons for national characters. According to him some account for these from moral, others from physical, causes. By moral causes he means all circumstances which are fitted to work on the mind as motives or reasons and which render a peculiar set of manners habitual to us. Of this kind are the nature of the government, the revolutions of public affairs, the plenty or penury in which the people live, the situation of the nation with regard to its neighbours and such like circumstances. By physical causes are meant those qualities of the air and climate which are supposed to work insensibly on the temper,

by altering the tone and habit of the body and giving a particular complexion, which though reflection and reason may some time overcome it, will yet prevail among the generality of mankind and have an influence on their manners.

That the character of a nation will much depend on moral causes must be evident to the most superficial observer, since a nation is nothing but a collection of individuals and the manners of individuals are frequently determined by these causes. As poverty and hard labour debase the mind of the common people and render them unfit for any science and ingenious profession, so where any government becomes very oppressive to its subjects, it must have proportional effect on their temper and must banish all freedom of thought and action from among them. It is doubtful, therefore, if air, food, or climate does really seriously affect the character of the people. The fact is that the human mind is of a very imitative nature, and it is not possible for any set of men to converse often together without acquiring a similitude of manner and communicating to each other their vices as well as virtues. And if we run over the globe or revolve the annals of history, points out Hume, we shall discover everywhere signs of a sympathy or contagion of manners, and not of the influence of food, air or climate. It can thus be established without any fear whatsoever of contradiction that it is the government which does affect the character of the people. In ancient times, Athens and Thebes were but a short day's journey from each other but the Athenians were as remarkable for ingenuity, politeness and gaiety as the Thebans were for dullness, rusticity, and a phlegmatic temper. The explanation is easy. "The same national character commonly follows the authority of the government to a precise boundary." The Kashmiris and Afghans with a few hills to divide them prove the veracity of this assertion. There is another important consideration. The manners of a people change very largely from one age to another either by great alterations in their government as already referred to, or by the mixtures of new people or by that inconstancy to which all human affairs are subject. The ingenuity, industry and activity of the ancient Greeks having nothing in common in the time of and in the words of Hume : with the stupidity and indolence

of the present inhabitants of those regions. Candour, bravery and love of liberty formed the character of the ancient Romans as 'subtilety, cowardice and a slavish disposition do that of the modern'. The old Spaniards were restless, turbulent and so addicted to war that many of them killed themselves when deprived of their arms by the Romans. One would find an equal difficulty says Hume, to rouse up the modern Spaniards to arms. The Batavians, he adds, were all soldiers of fortune and hired themselves into the Roman armies. Their posterity makes use of foreigners for the same purpose that the Romans did their ancestors. Though some few strokes of the French character be the same as Ceasar has ascribed to the Gauls, yet what comparison between the civility, humanity and knowledge of the modern inhabitants of that country and the ignorance, barbarity and grossness of the ancient ? Finally, if we realize the great difference between the present possessors of Britain and those before the Roman conquest, we shall at once find that the ancestors of the English, a few centuries ago, "were sunk into the most abject superstition".

Hume quotes an eminent writer as affirming that all courageous animals are also carnivorous and that greater courage is to be expected in a people such as the English, whose food is strong and hearty than in the half-starved commonality of other countries. But Hume's reply to this eminent writer is characteristic. He says that the Swedes, notwithstanding their disadvantages in this particular, are not inferior in martial courage to any nation that ever was in the world. This should give the lie direct to the assertion that Kashmiris can never be brave because they are given to excessive rice-eating. Does the Rajput *Jat* eat flesh ? Does not the Gurkha, for instance, eat rice ?

The Mughal rule, if it conferred several benefits on Kashmir, tended to weaken the courage of the people of the valley. "Kashmir," says Colonel T. H. Hendley, some time Vice-President of the Bengal Asiatic Society, "in a past age was inhabited by brave men, but the Mughal conquerors broke their spirit, and one of the measures by which they effected this end was, it is commonly believed, by compelling the men to wear the overdress of women, the long cloak which impedes their movements."

And women naturally partook of this degradation. The use of the *kangri* aggravated the situation.

In his anxiety to subjugate the valley Akbar is believed to have constructed the fort of Koh-i-Maran to overawe the people, though apparently it was built at the time of a famine as a measure of relief. "Means were at the same time adopted," says Lieutenant Newall (*J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, p. 433) "of rendering the native Kashmirians less warlike and of breaking their old independent spirit. Amongst other measures to effect this, I have been informed but have nowhere seen it recorded) as a fact very generally believed in Kashmir, that the emperor Akbar caused a change to be introduced in the dress of the people. In place of the ancient well girded tunic adapted to activity and exercise, the emperor substituted the effeminate long gown of the present day, a change which led to the introduction of the enervating *Kangri** corresponding with the French 'chauffe-chamice' or pot of charcoal fire; without which a modern Kashmiri is seldom seen. And it is possible that this measure, one out of a long series of acts of systematic tyranny and spirit-breaking oppression, may have had its effect in changing the character of this once brave and warlike race; for, at the present day although remarkable for physical strength, the natives of Kashmir are

*It will be enquired, "Then, what did the people do for warmth before the annexation of the province to the Mughal Empire ?" The Kashmiris have a story that the emperor Akbar, enraged at the brave and prolonged resistance offered by them to his General, Qasim Khan, determined to unman and degrade the people of this country. And so he ordered them, on pain of death, to wear *pheran* which has effeminated them and hindered them in battle and in all manly exercises. Before Akbar's conquest they all wore coats and vests and trousers .. . If this story is true then they would not have required the *kangari* indeed they would have found it extremely inconvenient, except as a charcoal burner, as it is used in Italy or as the *chauffe-pied* of Switzerland and other parts of the continent of Europe**—Rev J. Hinton Knowles, F.R.G.S., C.M.S., in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. xiv, October 1885, p. 266. Some scholars, however, regard it as a silly story.

**Or even in Kashmir as there is mention of it in the *Rajatarangini* (*vide* Stein's English Translation, vol. i, pp. 199 and 233) or in Japan as oted elsewhere.

totally wanting (Lieutenant Newall wrote in 1854 A.D.) in all those qualities for which they were formerly distinguished." In another place (page 436) Lieutenant Newall writes that Nawab Itiqad Khan, who became Mughal Governor in 1622 A.D., was cruel and commenced a systematic destruction of the Chaks whom he hunted down and put to death. "Bands of this fierce tribe still infested the surrounding hills especially the range to the north of Kashmir, from which strongholds they issued on their predatory excursions. This crusade had the effect of almost exterminating that ill-fated tribe, the descendants of which, at the present day, are the professional horsekeepers of the valley, and in their character, still in some degree display remnants of that ancient independent spirit, which led to their destruction."

The Afghans, though they improved the cuisine of the Kashmiri, signalised their stay by brutality and cruelty of which the chief victims were again the brave Chaks and Bambas and the Shias, though Sunnis did not fare better. It is said of the Afghans that they thought no more of cutting off heads than of plucking a flower:

سر بریدن پیش این سنگین دلان گل چیدن است

When Kashmir was lost to the Pathans they realized its importance and Dost Muhammad is reported to have remarked that "without the possession of the rich Valley of Kashmir no king of Afghanistan has been or ever shall be able to maintain a large army and the royal dignity."

The Sikhs were the worst offenders. Moorcroft wrote: "The Sikhs seem to look upon the Kashmirians as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh is punished by a fine to the government of from sixteen to twenty rupees, of which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, two rupees if he was a Muhammadan." Gulab Singh, though he introduced peace, further broke down the spirit of the people and the result of continued oppression in one form or the other, was that people became the hewers of wood and the drawers of water.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) Walter Lawrence, I.C.S., Settlement Commissioner, writing about the condition of the people during

the early Dogra rule observed:

"When I first came to Kashmir in 1889 I found the people sullen, desperate and suspicious. They had been taught for many years that they were serfs without any rights but with many disabilities. They were called *Zulm Parast* or worshippers of tyranny, and every facility was afforded to their cult. They were forced by soldiers to plough and sow, and the same soldiers attended at harvest time. They were dragged away from their houses to carry loads to Gilgit and every official had a right to their labour and their property. Their position was infinitely worse than that of the *tiers etat* before the French Revolution. While the villagers were thus degraded, the people of the city were pampered and humoured and the following passage from Hazlitt's *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* gives a fair idea of Kashmir before the settlement commenced: 'The peasants were overworked, half starved, treated with hard words and hard blows, subjected to unceasing exactions and every species of petty tyranny . . . while in the cities a number of unwholesome and useless for professions, and a crowd of lazy menials, pampered the vices or administered, to the pride and luxury of the great.' It was no wonder that cultivation was bad, that revenue was not paid and that the peasants were roving from one village to another in the hope of finding some rest and freedom from oppression. . . . Pages might be written by me on facts which have come under my personal observation, but it will suffice to say that the system of administration had degraded the people and taken all heart out of them. The country was in confusion the revenue was falling off and those in authority were "making hay while the sun shone". (*The Valley of Kashmir*, London, 1895, pp. 2-3). Such is the testimony of Lawrence "whose life and work brought him into close contact with the villages and officials".

Iqbal has most appropriately described the Kashmir's condition in the following verses:

کشمیری کہ با بندگی خو گرفتہ   بتے می تراشد ز سنگ مزارے
ضمیرش تہی از خیال بلندے   خودی ناشناسے ز خود شرمسارے
بریشم قبا خواجہ از محنت او   نصیب تنش جامہ تار تارے
نہ در دیدہ او فروغ نگاہے   نہ در سینہ او دل بیقرارے

No wonder, therefore, that even respectable, not to speak of distinguished, families in the Punjab, Delhi and U.P., Bihar and Bengal, and elsewhere should disown their Kashmiri origin or their long domicile in Kashmir and call themselves Pathans or Persians to escape the galling degradation and appalling humiliation of being called Kashmiri with all that the expression connotes.

Having touched almost the lowest depth of degradation, the Kashmiri is, however, showing signs of life and can no longer be bullied so easily and frightened so quickly. The educated Kashmiri of Srinagar, Islamabad, or other towns in the valley has gradually begun to think seriously of himself and is averse to being led by others and would refuse to do what is not dictated by his own intellect. Those who have closely studied the character of the Kashmiri and take a broad view of the situation, as a whole, need not, therefore, be unduly pessimistic about the future of the Kashmiri. He will take time but he must rise. He must, however, remember that he should at once give up abject superstition, and all forms of saint-worship; should show by action that he really earnestly believes in *tauhid* (the oneness of God); take to the right sort of education and establish schools based on the model of the Dehra Dun military school, and send out promising young men to Europe and America, on return to improve their indigenous arts and crafts and to unfold the wealth hidden in its herbs and hills. Sanitation must be vigorously improved all-round, and no amount of anxious care should be spared to improve the physique of women and children. The *pheran* must be burnt with the fire of the *kangri* and the *kangri* must be thrown into the waters of

the Vitasta. Houses must have suitable fire-place chimneys for severe winter, and the excessive use of boiling tea must be steadily discouraged. Above all, the Kashmiri must learn to rely on himself. He should give the parrot-cry of backwardness and the foolish demand for special consideration and extra concession as disgraceful, cowardly and humiliating. He should no longer worry the state or the British Resident with registered petitions and organised deputations and must realise that reform, if it is to be real and lasting, must come from within. Heaven helps those who help themselves.

The Kashmiri must beware of the *fatwas* of ignorant *Muftis* and fanatical *Mullas* of the type who retarded the progress of Indian Musalmans before and after the mutiny by preaching a *jehad* againet the study of European sciences and in recent years against *muvalat*.

There should be no talk of Sunni and Shia, of *Pir* or *Pandit* or Sikh or Dogra. All must unite to work for the common good. The philosophy of the Hindu, the arts and crafts of the Muslim, the vigour and vitality of the Sikh and Dogra must strive to make the land really the Happy Valley that it nominally is. It should be a real paradise for the sons of the soil and not for the hurried visitor alone.

The foreign relations of the Sultans of Kashmir with their neighbours were, generally speaking, on the whole, quite friendly. Sultan Shihab-ud-Din, the great conqueror, was feared at Qandhar and Ghazni. The Raja of Nagarkot was a subordinate ally. Tibet alone gave trouble and had to be invaded more than once. The Raja of Jammu sought refuge in Kashmir, Sultan Ibrahim Lodhi took shelter with Sultan Muhammad Shah. Envoys from foreign powers were received with due courtesy and representatives of the Sultans of Kashmir in foreign courts acquitted themselves with becoming dignity and showed tact and geniality in dealing with foreign potentates. Sultan Sikandar won the friendship of the great Timur.

About the foreign relations of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin we have already said, on the authority of Abul Fazl, that Sultan Abu Said Mirza, the grandfather of Babur, sent him presents of Arab horses and dromedaries from Khorasan and Bahlol Lodhi, of Delhi, and Sultan Mahmud Begara of Gujrat were in friendly

alliance with him.

In Abul Fazl's time twenty-six different roads were leading from the valley but those by Bhimbar and Pakhli were the best. The first one, he says, was considered the nearest and had several routes of which three were good, via (1) Hastivanj which was the former route for the march of troops ; (2) Pir Panjal (or Pantsal) which was traversed by Akbar and his successors and (3) Tangtalah.

Sharaf-ud-Din Ali Yazdi, the author of *Zafar Nama* says there are three principal highways into Kashmir. The one leading to Khorasan is such a difficult route that it is impossible for beasts of burden with loads to be driven along it so that the inhabitants carry the loads upon their own shoulders for several days until they reach a spot where it is possible to load a horse. The road to India offers the same difficulty. The route which leads to Tibet is easier than these two.

For simple details of routes from Kashmir to Turkistan and China let us turn to William Finch whose description of those routes according to Stein[15] is based upon carefully collected information. Finch says that from Kabul to Kashghar with the caravan is some two or three months' journey. The chief city of trade is Yarqand whence come silk, porcelain, musk, rhubrab and other merchandize, which are brought from China, the gate or entrance (meaning the entrance of the Great Wall near Su-Chou on the border of Khan-Su) of which is some two or three months' journey from Kashmir. It is further related that when merchants come to this entrance they are forced to remain under their tents, and by licence send some ten or fifteen of their folk to do business. On their return as many more are allowed in but the whole caravan cannot enter at once. From Lahore to Kashmir the way is as from Gujrat (Punjab) to Kabul, namely, from Gujrat to Bhimbar and thence via Hastivanj. It may be summed up as follows: From Lahore to Gujrat (Punjab) thence there is bifurcation: one road leads to Kashmir via Bhimbar and the other to Kabul via Peshawar. Finch, however, does not throw any light on the route from Kashmir to Yarqand. According to Lawrence, the distance from Srinagar to Yarqand

15 *Panjab Historical Journal*, vol. vi, No. 2, pp. 144-45.

via Margan, Zogila, Kara Koran, and Sugit Dawan passes is 777 miles. Drew has noted five routes (Summer route, Winter route, Western route, Middle route, and Eastern route) from Srinagar to Yarqand all via Leh. In addition to these he mentions two more via Palampur and avoiding Leh. These were the routes which brought Kashmir into contact with Central Asia and imported its learning, culture, and crafts, into the valley. Some portions of the old routes have become altered in time, through the action of glaciers; the shifting and erosion of rivers; land-slips or other natural causes (*vide* De Bourbel's *Routes in Jammu and Kashmir*, Calcutta, 1897).

None of the natural features of Kashmir geography, says Stein, have had a more direct bearing on the history of the country than the great mountain-barriers that surround it. The importance of the mountains as the country's great protecting wall has, at all times, been duly recognised both by the inhabitants and foreign observers. Anxious care was taken to maintain this natural strength of the country by keeping strict watch over the passes. We have elsewhere quoted from Alberuni that in ancient times none except Jews were admitted. Small forts were constructed which closed all regularly used passes leading into the valley. During Muhammadan times, feudal chiefs known as *Maliks* were responsible for guarding the routes through the mountains. These *Maliks* held hereditary charge of specific passes. 'The fortified posts were known as *rahdari* in the official Persian.' Nobody was allowed to pass outside them coming from the valley without a special permit or pass or *Paravana-i-Rahdar*. The system served as a check on unauthorised emigration and was withdrawn during the seventies of the last century on account of famine.

10

Kashmir Under the Sikhs

The Agfhan rule was very unfortunate. Brahmans, Musjims of both the Sunni and Shia sects as well as the Bombas of the Jhelum valley, came in for inhuman cruelities at the hands of these hard and harsh masters. A change was sighed for. For the oppressed and unarmed Kashmiris, both Hindu and Muslim, the only way to change the rule of the Afghans was to seek the help of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the powerful ruler of the neighbouring kingdom with its capital at Lahore.

The Maharaja had on his own tried to annex the valley earlier. In 1814 a Sikh army advanced by the Pir Panjal (Pantsal) route, Ranjit Singh himself watching the operations from Poonch which he had already brought under subjection. Warning had been given to him about the impending rains, but as the military arrangements had been completed, the advance had to be made. The expedition, however, failed.

But in 1819 a deputation of Kashmiris sponscred by all the communities, entreated the Maharaja to try his hand at the annexation of Kashmir again and assured him of all possible help. Thereupon the Maharaja's forces, under the command of his trusted general, Dewan Misr Chand, accompanied by Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu, overcame the resistance of Afghan forces under Jabbar Khan (whom Mohammad Azim the Afghan Governor of Kashmir on his hurried departure for Kabul, had left in charge) and entered Shopian. The Sikh victory was complete and Lahore

was illuminated for three days in its honour.

The Kashmir, after several generations of Muslim rule lasting a little less than five centuries, passed again into the hands of non-Muslims, though in the meantime over nine-tenths of the population had been converted to Islam.

The new regime was by no means enlightened, yet both Hindus and Muhammadans considered the change far better and humane. "It must have been", writes Walter Lawrence, "an intense relief to all classes in Kashmir to see the downfall of the evil rule of the Pathans, and to none was the relief greater than to the peasants who had been cruelly fleeced by the rapacious *sardars* of Kabul. I do not mean to suggest that the Sikh rule was benign or good, but it was at any rate better than that of the Pathans".[1]

The Sikh rule over the Valley lasted for only twenty-seven years. During this brief period it was administered by ten governors. One of these, Dewan Moti Ram, occupied the gubernatorial chair twice.

Dewan Misr Chand, the commander of the successful military expedition to the Valley was appointed by the Maharaja to be its first Sikh governor. Excepting for his mopping-up operations against the remnants of the Afghan forces in the hilly tracts, there is nothing worthy of note of his brief governorship.

Dewan Moti Ram, son of Dewan Mohkam Chand, the able general of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, was the next governor. Though indolent and not troubling himself much about administration, he was yet a kind-hearted man and liked by the people. It seems he was prevailed upon by the military commanders to take measures against the Muslims congregating in large numbers in the Jama Masjid at Srinagar and also ban the Azan, the Muslims' call for prayer.

This seemed to have stemmed from the feeling that Muslims of whichever place they be, were the traditional opponents of the Sikhs. For, throughout their history, the Sikhs had to fight first for survival and later to retain their power, against mostly Muslims, be they Mughals or Afghans. In Kashmir, they over-

1 *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 198.

looked the fact that both the Muslims and the Hindus had suffered at the hands of the Afghans and had consequently sought the help of Maharaja Ranjit Singh to get rid of their terrible rule. They relented after some time and these orders were revoked.

"By his just and humune conduct," writes Lawrence, "Dewan Moti Ram restored confidence in the Valley."[2] But his rule lasted only fourteen months. The Maharaja sent as his successor the fighting general, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa. Being unfamiliar with civil administration, his rule proved harsh. The treasury at Lahore had been put under great strain due to prolonged Sikh military operations in Afghanistan, and hence Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa resumed the *jagirs* and hereditary allowances held by a number of persons and families from the time of the Mughal emperors. He devoted his attention more to the collection of heavy land revenue and other taxes than to ameliorating the condition of the people.

He led a small expedition against the recalcitrant Khakha chieftain of the Jhelum valley and built a fort at Uri posting a Sikh garrison therein.

Hari Singh Nalwa introduced a new rupee. Known as "Hari Singhi," it continued to be in circulation till late into the nineteenth century. Worth about twelve annas, the coin carried on the obverse the legend *Sri Akal Jiu* and on the reverse *Hari Singh*.

The Maharaja who had received reports of Sardar Hari Singh's misgovernment of Kashmir, recalled him and sent back Dewan Moti Ram again. It was in his time that Moorcroft, the traveller, entered Kashmir in 1822 on his way to Ladakh. His activities there against Maharaja Ranjit Singh aroused the latter's anger and the British had to disown all responsibility for his activities.

Dewan Moti Ram's second tenure of office of governor of Kashmir came to an end in 1825, since his family "fell into disgrace owing to the growing influence of Raja Dhyan Singh. Dewan Chuni Lal, a man of no account, took his place for a

2 *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 199.

year and a half."[3]

The new governor did not pull on well with the revenue farmer, Gurmukh Singh. This resulted in a serious drop in revenue. On Chuni Lal's recall, Dewan Kripa Ram, son of Dewan Moti Ram and grandson of Dewan Mokham Chand, was appointed by the Maharaja as the governor of Kashmir. Intelligent and having a sense of beauty, he laid out several gardens nearabout Srinagar. One of these, Ram Bagh, where stands Maharaja Gulab Singh's monument, still bears his name.

Kripa Ram was a mild, self-indulgent man, fond of boating and pleasure excursions. But his rule was marred by a severe earthquake in 1827, followed by an epidemic of cholera.

In 1831 Kripa Ram, again incurring the enmity of Raja Dhyan Singh, was recalled in the midst of a pleasure party on the Dal lake to Lahore and there being disgraced retired to Banaras where along with his father he led an ascetic's life.

The Maharaja appointed Bhima Singh Ardali as acting governor of Kashmir. Not much is known of his antecedents. He remained at the head of the administration for only a year, the only event of note during his time being a serious outbreak of sectarian riots among the Sunnis and Shias.

Meanwhile there was widespread political disturbance allaround Kashmir due to the activities of one Sayyid Ahmed who had proclaimed a sort of religious war against the Sikhs in the territories mostly inhabited by Muslims. The Maharaja's forces had to fight many a bloody battle near and around Peshawar. This resulted in further depletion of the funds in the treasury at Lahore and governors of different provinces were directed to find ways and means of recovering further taxes from the people. Kashmiris could not naturally escape this further burden on their already heavily burdened shoulders. They had moreover to furnish unpaid labour in larger numbers to carry supplies to Sikh garrisons at different places on the frontier.

3 Lepel Griffin, *Ranjit Singh*, p. 196.

The Great Famine

Prince Sher Singh, son of the Maharaja, took over from Bhima Singh Ardali the governorship of Kashmir in 1831. The Maharaja who was keen to visit the Valley planned a tour that summer. His lieutenants began making all preparations and collecting supplies for his large entourage. All this resulted in great distress to the people. The Maharaja who had already started on his journey, turned back to Lahore on receiving reports of the doings of his agents and the widespread distress caused by their actions.

But Nature willed otherwise. In early October when the peasants had yet to harvest the paddy crop, there was an untimely snowfall which destroyed the entire crop of this staple food of the Kashmiris. The result was a severe famine. Thousands of people died and thousands emigrated in a famished condition to the Punjab over the difficult mountain passes.

Prince Sher Singh did not make any serious effort to import grain from the Punjab or force the hoarders to bring out the stock of grain for sale in the open market at reasonable rates. Instead, he passed his days in merry-making and left the administration in the hands of corrupt and inefficient officials. When Maharaja Ranjit Singh learnt of his inefficient handling of the grave situation, he immediately called him back and appointed Colonel Mian Singh in his place.

Colonel Mian Singh (1833) was the best of all the Sikh governors. He did his best to mitigate the ravages of the famine and with a view to stimulating population, remitted the tax on marriages and set to work to bring some order in the administration. Agricultural advances were made free of interest, proper weights were introduced and the fraudulent middlemen were punished. Mian Singh decided cases justly and quickly. He is still spoken of with gratitude, but his useful life was cut short by mutinous troops whose pay had run into arrears. He had incurred their wrath as he had kept them in check from levying exactions on the already famished people. A few of them entered his bedchamber on the night of April 17, 1841 and murdered him in cold blood. His death threw the valley into gloom and for long the people mourned his loss.

Maharaja Sher Singh, who was on the Lahore throne at the time, sent Raja Gulab Singh with a strong force to quell the mutiny. Having restored order, he appointed Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-din as the governor of Kashmir.

The Sikh kingdom was at this time in chaotic conditions following the intrigues and conspiracies going on at the Lahore court. Raja Gulab Singh who had been invested as the ruler of Jammu in 1820 was meanwhile expanding his territory by his conquests in the north. His general, Zorawar Singh, brought Ladakh under his subjection and was even planning to bring the whole of Tibet under the Dogra *raj*. But his ambition was cut short by his defeat and death at the hands of a strong Tibetan force.

Raja Gulab Singh who had now gained great influence in the Valley with the appointment of the man of his choice, Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-din, as the governor of Kashmir, demanded his assistance in transport and supply of food for his troops operating in Ladakh. This naturally resulted in great hardship to the people.

It was during Sheikh Mohi-ud-din's governorship that Gilgit was brought into the sphere of influence of the Sikh kingdom. Following a feud between two claimants to the Gilgit throne, one of them asked for his assistance. A force under Mathra Dass proceeded to Gilgit and bringing the chiefship under his subjugation, installed a prince of his choice as ruler and vassal of the Lahore Government.

There was an insurrection in the Jhelum valley following the capture of the leader of the Bombas, Zabardast Khan. To avenge this Sher Ahmed, the daring soldier-leader of the Bombas attacked and destroyed a Sikh force at Kahori and marched forward with a large force aiming at entering the Valley. However a heavy snowfall and the release of Zabardast Khan by the Sikhs, prevented a holocaust overtaking the poor Kashmiris.

Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-din was an able and just governor. To win the goodwill of the people he opened the Jama Masjid at Srinagar for the Muslims to offer their prayers in. Simultaneously he repaired the temple at Shankaracharya hill and

installed a new *lingam* therein. He restored the *jagirs* and cash grants to scholars, poets, mendicants and religious teachers. He ordered the sale of government grains at reduced prices. The people of the Valley would have continued to make progress initiated by Mian Singh, but the instability at the Lahore Court and the increasing British intrigue in the frontier region, prevented the Sheikh from making greater efforts to put the administration on sound footing. The rising power of Gulab Singh dominated his actions till his death in 1845.

His son, Sheikh Imam-ud-din, was appointed as his successor on the recommendation of Raja Gulab Singh. Cultured and a man of good education, Sheikh Imam-ud-din would have proved to be the best Sikh governor but for the process of disintegration and fall of the Sikh power set in motion on the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. This was aggravated by the growing turbulence of the Sikh soldiery who did not permit him to exercise effective control over Kashmir.

Meanwhile there was wild anarchy all over the Punjab. Following the death of the Maharaja in 1839, there were quick successions and political murders at the Lahore Court which ulimately led to the two Sikh Wars with the British and the end of the Sikh kingdom so assiduously built up by the Maharaja. The British gained control of the territory and in the process, Raja Gulab Singh who was biding his time to annex the Valley to his expanding kingdom of Jummu, succeeded in his objective in 1847 when the British according to the Treaty of Amritsar handed over the Kashmir valley to him in consideration of a sum of rupees seventy-five lakhs.

These and subsequent events will be dealt with in the next chapter. Meanwhile let us have a look at the economic and social picture of the people of Kashmir during the brief period of Sikh rule over the Valley.

Socio-economic conditions in Kashmir when Maharaja Ranjit Singh annexed it to his expanding kingdom in 1819, were deplorable indeed. The Afghans had during their rule of sixty-seven years laid the land waste. The people had been thrown into the lowest depths of penury and want. George Forster the only European to visit Kashmir incognito during this period,

writes about Haji Karimdad Khan, the father of the governor of Kashmir at that time, that he was "notorious for his wanton cruelties and insatiable avarice". About his son, Azad Khan, who was a greater tyrant, Forster writes that "the casual mention of his name produced an instant horror and involuntary supplication of the aid of their Prophet."

But the Sikh governors whom Maharaja Ranjit Singh appointed in the first instance, failed to rise to the occasion. They did not attempt to take measures to ameliorate the condition of the people who needed relief. The frequent famines culminating in terrible catastrophe of 1831-32 were mostly man-made. Being keen to win the approval of the ruler by tendering substantial amounts to the Lahore treasury, they resorted to heavy taxation and tried to collect the last farthing out of the already impoverished people. However, the Maharaja who kept a watchful eye on the doings of his governors, had frequently to recall them and appoint better and more human officers to the high post.

No wonder, the conditions in the Valley did not improve substantially. The description of Vigne who visited the Valley in 1835—two years after the great famine—is pathetic indeed. "The villages", he writes, "were fallen in decay. The rice-ground was uncultivated for want of labour and irrigation. Shupian was a miserable place, and Islamabad was but a shadow of its former self. The houses presented a ruined and neglected appearance."

Things, however, began to improve during Colonel Mian Singh's time. Hugel who visited the Valley in 1836, gives a better picture. "The people", he writes, "seem contented with the justice dealt out to them, and admitted to me that not more than one guilty person in every twenty is ever visited with the reward due to his crimes."[4]

The Sikhs seem to have learnt their lesson from the terrible famine of 1832, and thereafter "revenue divisions were made, and the villages were either farmed out to contractors or leased on the principle that the state took half of the produce in kind".[5]

4 Hugel, *Travels*, p. 156.
5 Lawrence, *Valley*, p. 200.

Some of the industries for which Kashmir had become famous flourished during the Sikh period. Two of them particularly—the carpet weaving and shawl manufacture—yielded sizeable revenue to the state and gave employment to thousands of people.

The carpet weaving industry originally introduced by Zain-ud-abidin, attained the highest pitch of excellence. How much proficiency the Kashmir carpet-weavers had attained in reproducing Nature's lovely sights on their looms during the Sikh rule, will be apparent from the following anecdote taken from Pandit Anand Koul's *Geography of the Jummu & Kashmir State*:

> "Maharaja Ranjit Singh could never visit Kashmir, though he longed to do so and even started from Lahore in 1831 to fulfil his desire, but had to return from Poonch owing to occurrence of famine in Kashmir then. Once he wrote in a letter to Colonel Mian Singh, one of his governors from 1833 to 1841: "Would that I could only once in my life enjoy the delight of wandering through the gardens of Kashmir frangrant with almond blossoms, and sitting on the fresh-green turf." The governor in order to gratify nay, to intensify his master's desire got prepared one fine green carpet, dotted with little pink spots and interspersed with pink petals of almond blossoms fallen on it and dew glistening thereon as in spring time. This was a master-piece of the Kashmir carpet-weaver's art. It was presented to the Maharaja at Lahore; and as soon as he saw it, he was so struck by its beauty of design executed in such artistic excellence that he rolled himself thereon in ecstasy, feigning to be rolling on the real Kashmir turf. The chief weavers of this exquisite carpet, named Fazal Jan, Jabbar Khan and Kamal Ju, were given a reward of a pair of gold bracelets each by the Maharaja."

But the chief article of woollen manufacture which gave employment to thousands of men, women and children was the manufacture of Kashmir Shawl. The industry was in a flourishing condition during Dewan Kripa Ram's governorship in 1827.

But the famine of 1832 gave a crushing blow to the industry. The poor shawl-weaver was the worst sufferer.

With the end of the famine the trade in shawls began to revive but could not reach the same height of prosperity as when it yielded over twelve lakh rupees annually in tax alone.

On the whole the standard of life of the people of Kashmir during the Sikh rule continued to remain low. It could not be improved considerably by the Sikhs during their brief period of rule because of the conditions to which things had been reduced under the earlier regime and because the Sikhs were very much preoccupied with fighting for retention of power against their enemies, particularly the British who created difficulties for them all-around. However there were signs of improvement beginning with the governorship of Mian Singh but the death of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1839 resulted in court intrigues and turbulence of the soldiery, reducing the effectiveness of the civil administration to ameliorate the condition of the people.

11

Kashmir Under the Dogras

After the death of Ranjit Singh (27th June, 1839), the Sikh army was uncontrollable and did considerable violence to those who had offended the soldiers. Col. Mian Singh, the Governor of Kashmir, was murdered in 1841 whereupon a strong contingent, nominally under the command of Prince Partab Singh, the son of Sher Singh (the successor of Ranjit Singh) but really under the charge of Raja Gulab Singh of Jammu was sent to Kashmir to restore authority. Gulab Singh quelled the mutiny and placed there a Governor of his own choice, namely Sheikh Ghulam Mohi-ud-Din. From this time he became virtual master of the valley though, till 1846, it nominally belonged to the Sikh ruler at Lahore.

Before we say anything about Gulab Singh who was a Dogra, let us know who the Dogras are. The expression 'Dogra' is geographical rather than ethnical. The Dogras are the people who inhabit the hilly country between the rivers Chenab and Satluj and they are called Dogras whether they are Hindus or Muhammadans, and whether they are Brahmans, Rajputs, Rathis or Ghirths. According to one account the term 'Dogra' is said to be derived from the Sanskrit words *Do* and *Girath*, meaning "two lakes". These words were afterwards corrupted into Dogra. The two lakes (Siroensar

and Mansar) lie in the hills a little to the east of Jammu which may be taken as the centre of the Dograth or true Dogra country. According to another account 'Dogra' is a corruption of *Dugar* the *Rajasthani* name for 'mountain' and that it was introduced by the Rajput warriors from the south who are supposed to have founded the principality of Jammu. The Dogras themselves incline to the latter derivation of 'Dogra', but it is certain that the term 'Dogra' originally only applied to the inhabitants of the Dograth or hilly tract lying between the Chenab and the Ravi and it is only of late years that it has been made to include the people of the Trigarth or hills lying bet- ween the Ravi and the Satluj.

Messrs. Hutchison and Vogel state that the ancient name of the principality of Jammu was *Durgara* and of this name the terms *Dugar* and *Dogra* in common use at the present time are derivations. In the light of this statement, based as it is on two copper-plate title deeds of the eleventh century found in Chamba, the first two explanations of the term must now be regarded as fanciful. The name 'Dur- gara' was probably a tribal designation, like *Gurjara* the original of the modern *Gujar*. The names *Dugar* and *Dogra* are now applied to the whole area in the outer hills between the Ravi and the Chenab but this use of the terms is probably of recent origin and dates only from the time when the tract came under the supremacy of Jammu, Dugar meaning the country and Dogra meaning the inhabitant. The ancient capital of the state according to tradition was at Bahu where the ancient fort and a small town still exist, Jammu having been founded by Jambu-Lochan later on.

Dogra Rajputs of higher classes are entitled to be called 'Mian'. This title of Mian is said to have been conferred upon their ancestors by Mughal Emperors. This explains how in records we find Mian Ranbir Singh and Mian Partap Singh. A Mian Rajput would not handle the plough, would never give his daughter in marriage to an inferior or marry himself greatly below his rank; he would never accept money in exchange for the betrothal of his daughter. The females of his household must be strictly secluded.

The Dogra royal line trace their descent from Kus, the second

son of Rama and came originally, it is said, from Ayodhya. Like Chamba and many other royal families of the hills, they belong to the *Surajbansi* race and the clan name is *Jamwal*. Probably there was an older designation which has now been forgotten.

The Dugar or Dogra principalities were founded roundabout Jammu and Kangra by Rajput adventurers from Oudh (and also Delhi) about the time of Alexander's invasion. These Dogra adventurers moved up north with their forces in order to oppose the Greeks.

The first Raja of the Dogra royal line named Agnibaran who is said to have been a brother or kinsman of the Raja of Ayodhya is said to have settled at Parol near Kathua, opposite to Madhopur in the Gurdaspur district of the Punjab, having originally come up by way of Nagarkot. The son of Agnibaran was Vayusrava who added to his territory the country of the outer hills as far west as the Jammu Tawi. Four other rajas followed in succession and the fifth was Agnigarbh who had eighteen sons of whom the eldest were Bahu-Lochan and Jambu-Lochan. Bahu-Lochan succeeded his father and founded the town and fort of Bahu already mentioned. Jambu-Lochan founded Jammu which he first called Jambupura: the supposed date of its foundation being about 900 A.D. (Hutchison & Vogel) and the earliest historical mention of Jammu is in connection with Timur's invasion in 1398 A.D.

At the time of earlier Muhammadan invasions the petty Dogra principalities were engaged in quarrels among themselves. They combined against the Muhammadans who however drove them into the hills where owing to isolation and immunity from political disasters and wars of extermination, the Dogras remained essentially Hindu both in religion and in character, more particularly "because there has never been any Musalman domination calculated to either loosen the bonds of caste by introducing among the converted people the absolute freedom of Islam or tighten them by throwing them wholly into the hands of Brahmans". It is in the hills of Jammu and Kangra that "the Brahman and the Kshatriya occupy positions most nearly resembling those originally assigned to them by Manu." The petty chiefs were called Ranas and Thakurs.

We hear of Dogra revolts in the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir when they were made to pay tribute and yield hostages for good behaviour. By the time that Shah Jahan came to the throne, these hill chieftains seem to have settled down quietly to the position of feudatories, and carried out the order of the Delhi court with ready obedience. They were, on the whole, liberally treated by the Mughals, who permitted them to rule in their own fashion. The loyalty of these hill chiefs appears to have won the favour and confidence of the Emperors, for they were frequently sent off on hazardous and distant expeditions, given rich rewards and appointed to positions of great trust. In 1644 the Emperor Shah Jahan despatched a large army for the conquest of Balkh which included Raja Jagat Singh, the Dogra Raja of Nurpur in the Kangra valley. The Raja showed great bravery but, on Aurangzeb's advice, Shah Jahan subsequently ordered the withdrawal of Mughal armies on account of their obviously untenable position in a far off country.

After a varied fortune, the principality of Jammu had, by about 1760, under Raja Ranjit Dev, a Dogra prince, acquired fairly stable government. Ranjit Dev had established his authority over most of the Dogra principalities, having acknowledged his own vassalage to Delhi. When Ahmad Shah Durani invaded the Punjab, Ranjit seems to have supported him and received favours from him on the cession of the Province in 1752 A.D. Unfortunately there was a quarrel between Ranjit Dev and his eldest son Brijraj Dev which weakened the Jammu *Raj* and led to its subsequent overthrow by the Sikhs who had supplanted the Duranis in the Punjab. Kangra too was annexed by the Sikhs and thus the Dogras* lost their independence. It was however for Gulab Singh to regain it.

Gulab Singh was born in 1792 (5th of *Katak* 1849 *Bikrami*). He claimed that he was the great grandson of Surat Singh, the younger brother of Raja Ranjit Dev, of whom we have already spoken above. From his boyhood he lived with his grandfather,

**Note* : My Information about the Dogras is abstracted from Captain Bingley's *Dogras*, Simla, 1899. Also *History of Jammu State* by J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, vol. viii.

a stern old warrior, who gave him rigorous training in the use of arms. He could thus with ease ride like a cavalry trooper in his early age and wield his sword with deadly effect.

At the age of sixteen he left his ancestral home at Jammu and went to Lahore where he took service as the commander of a small company of Ranjit Singh's forces. His second brother, Dhian Singh was also employed and they both came under Ranjit Singh's eye. Their joint assiduity and the graceful bearing of the younger man as a common lancer breaking in a vicious horse at the time of a review attracted the notice of Ranjit Singh and Dhian Singh speedily took the place of a chamberlain. Gulab Singh obtained a petty command and distinguished himself by the seizure of Agha Jan, the chief of Rajauri. Jammu was then conferred in *Jagir* upon the family and the youngest brother Suchet Singh, as well as the two elder ones, were, one by one, raised to the rank of Raja, and rapidly acquired considerable influence in the counsels of Ranjit Singh. Dhian Singh received the principality of Poonch, and Suchet Singh obtained the Ramnagar *Ilaqa*.

Gulab Singh ordinarily remained in the hills using Sikh means to extend his authority over his brother Dogra Rajputs. In 1821 he brought Kashtwar under his authority. Dhian Singh remained continually in attendance upon Ranjit Singh while Suchet Singh continued as 'a gay courtier and gallant soldier'.

In 1834 Zorawar Singh, Raja Gulab Singh's commander in Kashtwar, took advantage of internal disorders in Leh, deposed the reigning raja and set up his rebellious minister in his stead, exacting tribute for Maharaja Ranjit Singh and bringing spoils to Jammu. In 1840 Zorawar Singh took Iskardo and later invaded Tibet but was killed and his army annihilated. Thus when Ranjit Singh died, Gulab Singh, though feudatory to the Sikh Government, had with the conquest of Ladakh and Baltistan enveloped the Kashmir valley from the South and the East and thus acquired a commanding influence in Kashmir, then still under a Sikh Governor.

The first Sikh War (1845-46) proved the proverbial tide in the fortunes of Gulab Singh. When the operations began in the winter of 1845, Gulab Singh contrived to hold himself aloof till the battle of Sobraon (1846) when he appeared as a mediator

and the adviser of Sir Henry Lawrence. The British, anxious to curb the spirit of the Sikh army and to reduce the kingdom of Lahore, entered into negotiations with Gulab Singh. Two treaties were concluded. By the first, signed at Lahore on March 9th, 1846, the state of Lahore handed over to the British, as equivalent for one crore of indemnity, the hill countries between the rivers Beas and the Indus; by the second, signed at Amritsar on 16th March, 1846, between the British Government and Raja Gulab Singh, the British made over to Gulab Singh for 75 lakhs all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the east of the Indus and west of the Ravi. In view of the importance of this treaty for Kashmir and Kashmiris, perhaps it would not be out of place if it is reproduced here·

Treaty with Gulab Singh of 1846

"Treaty between the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh, concluded at Amritsar, on 16th March, 1846.

"Treaty between the British Government on the one part, and Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded, on the part of the British Government, by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person.

"Article 1

The British Government transfers and makes over, forever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its dependencies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahol, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article 4 of the treaty of Lahore dated 9th March 1846.

"**Article 2**

The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively, for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement, after survey.

"**Article 3**

In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lacs of rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of this treaty, and twenty-five lacs on or before the 1st of October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

"**Article 4**

The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be at any time changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

"**Article 5**

Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore, or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

"**Article 6**

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs, to join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

"Article 7

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take, or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

"Article 8

Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles 5, 6, and 7, of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11th March 1846.

"Article 9

The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh, in protecting his territories from external enemies.

"Article 10

Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

"This treaty, consisting of ten articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

"Done at Amritsar, this 16th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 17th day of Rabi-ul-awwal, 1262, Hijri."

Thus it it was that the Valley of Kashmir was sold by Sir Henry Hardinge to Raja Gulab Singh for a sum of 75 lakhs! On the same occasion, Raja Gulab Singh was formally invested with the title of Maharaja at Amritsar.

Surprise has often been expressed that when Kashmir had actually been ceded to the British after a hard and strenuous campaign, they should ever have parted with it for the paltry sum of three quarters of a million sterling, writes Younghusband.* The reasons are to be found, he continues, in a letter from Sir Henry Hardinge to the Queen published in *The Letters of Queen Victoria*. The Governor-General writing from the neighbourhood of Lahore, on 18th of February, 1846—that is nearly three weeks before the treaty of Lahore was actually signed—says it appeared to him desirable "to weaken the Sikh State which has proved itself too strong—and to show to all Asia that although the British Government has not deemed it expedient to annex this immense country of the Punjab, making the Indus the British boundary, it has punished the treachery and violence of the Sikh nation, and exhibited its power in a manner which cannot be misunderstood." "For the same political and military reason," Sir Henry Hardinge continues, "the Governor-General hopes to be able before the negotiations are closed to make arrangements by which Cashmere may be added to the possessions of Gulab Singh, declaring the Rajput Hill States with Cashmere independent of the Sikhs of the plains." "There are difficulties in the way of this arrangement" Sir Henry adds, "but considering the military power which the Sikh nation had exhibited of bringing into the field 80,000 men and 300 pieces of field artillery, it appears to the Governor-General most politic to diminish the means of this warlike people to repeat a similar aggression." This was the reason, says Younghusband, why the British did not annex Kashmir. The Punjab had not yet been annexed, it was taken three years later. In 1846 the East India Company had no thoughts or inclinations whatever to extend their possessions. All they wished was to curb their powerful and aggressive neighbours, and they thought they would best do this, and at the same time reward a man who had

**Kashmir*, 1917 edition, pp. 170-71.

shown his favourable disposition toward them, by depriving the Sikhs of a hilly country and by handing it over to a ruler of a different race.

Kashmir, however, did not come into the hands of Maharaja Gulab Singh without some trouble. Shaikh Imam-ud-Din, the Governor of Kashmir, though believed to be well affected towards Maharaja Gulab Singh opposed him under written instructions from Raja Lal Singh, *Wazir* of Lahore, and with the assistance of Bambas from the Jhelum valley routed his troops on the outskirts of Srinagar. But on account of the mediations of Sir Henry Lawrence, Shaikh Imam-ud-Din gave up opposition and Kashmir passed into the hands of the new ruler.

Now a word about the expansion of Gulab Singh's possessions. Jammu was conferred as a *Jagir* by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, Dhian Singh obtained Poonch, and Suchet Singh Ramnagar *Ilaqa*. With this as a nucleus, the prospective state of Jammu and Kashmir absorbed Basohli, Bhadarwah, Kashtwar, Bhimbar and Rajauri one after the other. Iskardo, as we have already seen, was taken by Zorawar Singh, Gulab Singh's commander, in 1840. The Muhammadan rajas of Kharmang, Kiris, Khaplu, Shighar, etc., in Baltistan, were subdued. Then came the windfall and Kashmir was added. By the treaty Gulab Singh obtained possession not only of Kashmir but all the hilly country between the Indus and the Ravi. This included Hazara. Under Major James Abbott's demarcation, Manawar and Garhi had been transferred to the Punjab, an exchange of these in 1847 made the State of Jammu and Kashmir quite a self-contained and compact territory covering an area of 84,258 square miles with a total population of 3,320,518 (census of 1921, page 6, para 8) of which the Jammu Province accounts for 1,640,259 or about one-half of the entire population of the State. Kashmir Province comes next with 1,407,086 while the frontier districts have only a population of 273,173 from the large area of 63,560 square miles.

It may, however, be noted in passing that the Kashmir valley proper has an area of about 6,131 square miles and the

population is 1,190,977* of which 1,121,905 are Musalmans and 60,197 Hindus.

Maharaja Gulab Singh had to face a rebellion in Gilgit and Chilas soon after the acquisition of the Valley. This territory which had come under the suzerainty of the Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh accepted his overlordship on the Maharaja's death. It was, however, given to Maharaja Ranbir Singh, his son and successor, to re-establish Dogra supremacy over these territories.

Owing to his avarice Gulab Singh was not a popular ruler and the people did not welcome him, writes Younghusband. But with the support of the British Government he was finally able to establish his rule over Kashmir by the end of 1846, when Sir Henry Lawrence who had moved up to assist Gulab Singh returned to Lahore.

Gulab Singh was a man of great vigour, foresight and determination. His first care was to consolidate his power and ensure his revenue. By dint of untiring industry and by strict supervision of his officials, he made the most of the revenues of the valley. Exaggerated reports state that the purchase-money paid for Kashmir was recouped in a few years, but, says Lawrence, this is not correct. Maharaja Gulab Singh, however, took care that there should be no unnecessary expenditure or, in other words, "he kept a short eye on his officials and a close hand on his revenues." He repressed opposition and crime with a stern hand and believed in object-lessons and was universally feared by his subjects and servants, and was also respected by them.

He brought the principle of personal rule to perfection, continues Lawrence, and showed the people that he could stand by himself. If he wanted their services he would have them without resorting to the old-fashioned device of paying for them by the alienation of state revenues. The state was Maharaja Gulab Singh and as he spent much of his time in Kashmir and was an able and active ruler and a fairly wise landlord, the condition of the people improved. He was a good friend to the British Government in the troublous time of 1857 and died in that year (20th Sawan 1914 Bikrami). The day of his death was marked

**Vide* Census Report of 1921, Part I, p. 25, para. 25.

by an earthquake. His cenotaph is built on the Dudh Ganga river, Srinagar.

Ranbir Singh, comparatively speaking, was born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He never underwent those struggles through which his father had to pass. His birth in 1827 was considered lucky for Gulab Singh, as it was soon after, that Maharaja Ranjit Singh conferred Jammu in *Jagir* on Gulab Singh's family. Udham Singh and Sohan Singh, Ranbir's elder brothers, died in infancy thus paving the way for his succession to Gulab Singh's *gaddi*. Suchet Singh, Gulab Singh's younger brother, also adopted him as his heir and thus Ranbir Singh acquired possession of the Ramnagar *Ilaqa*. His education was old-fashioned and he could read Dogri and could understand a little of English. His father trained him to the use of arms by sending him with his soldiers to quell occasional disturbances. By 1854 he had also delegated most of the powers in state affairs to Ranbir Singh.

Ranbir Singh succeeded his father in 1857 and in consequence of his help to the British Government during the mutiny received from Lord Canning a *Sanad* granting him the right to adopt from collateral branches an heir to the succession on the failure of heirs-male of Gulab Singh on whom alone the country had been conferred by the British.

Ranbir Singh re-established his authority and influence over the frontier districts of Gilgit and Chilas by despatch of a strong military contingent under the command of General Devi Singh and other commanders.

During Ranbir's time there was some improvement but it was very slow. He set up three main departments—the revenue, the civil and the military with clearly defined spheres of work. The judicial system was reorganised and a penal code on the lines of the Indian Penal Code was promulgated.

The Trignometrical Survey of the State was concluded in his time and the first authentic map brought out in 1861. Ranbir himself was popular with his people and with Europeans towards whom he was extremely hospitable and for whom he built several houses. He was a modest Hindu, devoted to his religion and to Sanskrit learning. He was in many ways an enlightened man but he lacked his father's strong will and determination. Unfor-

tunately he had not the officials capable of immense labour required to remove the effects of previous misgovernment. They were accustomed to the old style of rule and knew no better. In the early sixties, says Younghusband,* cultivation was decreasing; the people were wretchedly poor, and in any other country their state would have been almost one of starvation and famine; justice was such that those who could pay could at any time get out of jail, while the poor lived and died there almost without hope. This state of affairs reminds one of Goldsmith's lines:

'Laws grind the poor
And rich men rule the law.'

There were few men of respectable, and none of wealthy appearance, continues Younghusband, and there were almost prohibitive duties levied on all merchandise imported or exported. By the early seventies, some slight improvement had taken place. The labouring classes, as a general rule, were well-fed and well-clothed, and fairly housed. Both men and women were accustomed to do hard and continuous labour, it was obvious that they could not do this and look well unless were well-nourished. Their standard of living was not high, but they certainly had enough to eat. And this is not surprising, for a rupee would buy 80 to 100 lbs. of rice, or 12 lbs. of meat, or 60 lbs. of milk. Fruit was so plentiful that mulberries, apples, and apricots near the villages were left to role on the ground. And fish near the rivers could be bought for almost nothing. Crimes of all kinds were rare, chiefly because of the remembrance of the terrible punishment of Gulab Singh's time, and because of the system of fixing responsibility for undetected crime upon local officials. Drunkenness, too, was almost unknown. About half a lakh of rupees was spent upon education, and another half-lakh on repairing the paths. A slight attempt was also made to assess the amount of land revenue at a fixed amount.

**Note* : Lawrence and Younghusband are my principal authorities for Dogra rule under Gulab Singh and Ranbir' Singh and the above is therefore an abstract of their treatment of the subject.

This much was to the good but yet the country was still very far indeed from what it ought to have been. The means of communication were rough and rude in the extreme, so that men instead of animals had to be used as beasts of burden. Even the new assessment of the land revenue was three times as heavy as that of the amount demanded in British districts in the Punjab. And there was still much waste land which the people were unwilling to put under cultivation, because under the existing system of land revenue administration they could not be sure that they would ever receive the result of their labour. A cultivator would only produce as much as would, after payment of his revenue, provide for the actual wants of himself and his family, because he knew by experience that any surplus would be absorbed by rapacious underling officials. In matters of trade there were still the impediments of former days. Upon every branch of commerce there was a multiplicity and weight of exactions. No product was too insignificant, and no person too poor to contribute to the state. The manufacture or production of silk, saffron, paper, tobacco, wine, and salt were all state monopolies. The sale of grain was a state monopoly, and though the state sold grain at an extraordinarily cheap rate, the officials in charge did not always sell it to the people who most required it, or in the quantity they required. Favourite and influential persons would get as much as they wanted but often to the public the stores would be closed for weeks together, and at other times the grain was sold to each family at a rate which was supposed to be proportionate to the number of persons in the family but the judges of the said quantity were not the persons most concerned, viz., the purchasers, but the local authorities. Private grain trade could not be openly conducted, and when the stocks in the country fell short of requirements they could not be replenished by private enterprise.

On the manufacture of shawls parallel restrictions were placed. The wool was taxed as it entered Kashmir; the manufacturer was taxed for every workman he employed, and at various stages of the process according to the value of the fabric; and lastly the enormous duty of 85 per cent. *ad valorem*. Butchers, bakers, carpenters, boatmen, and even prostitutes were still taxed, and

coolies who were engaged to carry loads for travellers had to give up half their earnings.

The whole country, in fact, was in the grip of a grinding officialdom; and the officials were the remnants of an ignorant and destructive age when dynasties and institutions and life itself were in daily danger, when nothing was fixed and lasting, when all was liable to change and at the risk of chance, and each man had to make what he could while he could; and when, in consequence, a man of honesty and public spirit had no more chance of surviving than a baby would have in a battle.

No wonder that in 1877, when—through excess of rain which destroyed the crops—famine came on the land, neither were the people prepared to meet the emergency, nor were the officials capable of mitigating its effects, and direful calamity was the consequence.

In the autumn of 1877 unusual rainfell, and owing to the system of collecting the revenue in kind and dilatoriness in collection, the crop was allowed to remain in the open on the ground, and then it rotted till half of it was lost. The wheat and barley harvest of the summer of 1878 was exceedingly poor. The fruit had also suffered from long continual wet and cold, and the autumn grains such as maize and millet, were partly destroyed by intense heat and partly devoured by the starving peasants. The following year was also unfavourable and it was not till 1880 that normal conditions returned.

These were the causes of scarcity of food supply; and when this calamity, which nowadays could be confidently met, fell upon the country, it was found that the people had nothing in reserve to fall back on; that the administrative machine was incapable of meeting the excessive strain; that even the will to meet it was wanting; and that corruption and obstruction impeded all measures of relief, and even forbade the starving inhabitants migrating to parts where food could be had. In addition, the communications were so bad that the food so plentiful in the neighbouring province, could be imported only with the greatest difficulty.

As a result two-thirds of the population died; a number of the chief valleys were entirely deserted; whole villages lay in ruins, as beams, doors, etc., had been extracted for sale; some

suburbs of Srinagar were tenantless, and the city itself was half-destroyed; trade came almost to a standstill, and consequently employment was difficult to obtain.

The test of this great calamity laid bare the glaring defects of the system the present dynasty had taken over from their predecessors, and which in their thirty years' possession of the valley they had not been able to eradicate.

During the five years which remained of the late Maharaja's reign, the first important steps were taken to remedy this terrible state of affairs; the assessment of the land revenue was revised and the cart-road (new motor road) into the valley was commenced.

In 1872 there was an outbreak between the Sunnis and Shias and the Maharaja offered compensation to the Shias who had suffered and granted them three lakhs of rupees. Ranbir Singh made great efforts to introduce new staples into Kashmir and money was freely spent on sericulture, vines, and wine-making and hop. The Maharaja is remembered as a patron of art and learning. He made a substantial donation towards the establishment of the Punjab University at Lahore and became its first Fellow. He established several schools, *pathshalas*, and *maktabs* in Jammu, Srinagar and at several towns. The Library at Rughnath Temple at Jammu is a splendid moment to his memory. He established a Translation Bureau for translating books into Hindi and Persian from Arabic, Sanskrit, English and Latin. This bureau now lingers on in existence in the present Research Department of the state.

In September 1885, Ranbir Singh died and was succeeded by his eldest son Maharaja Sir Partap Singh then about 35 years of age. Maharaja Ranbir Singh's private life was beyond any reproach. It was certainly "free from many frivolities and vices which but too often disfigure the conduct of Oriental Princes".

Maharaja Partap Singh (1885-1925)

The accession of Maharaja Partap Singh to the *gaddi* in 1885 marks the beginning of modern governance and political and social advancement of the people of the State. The main reason for this development was the direct control of the State

administration by the British Indian government through the Resident, who was installed simultaneously with the new Maharaja's ascension to the *gaddi.* Maharajas Gulab Singh and Ranbir Singh had successfully resisted the appointment of the Resident, but the feeble protests of the new Maharaja were brushed aside by the Viceroy.

Maharaja Partap Singh, born at Riasi in the Jammu province in 1850, had received education in Dogri, Sanskrit, Persian and English. To acquaint him with the working of the various departments, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, his father, had entrusted to him the hearing of petitions from people and passing suitable orders thereon. In this task he acquitted himself with credit.

However, the year of his accession coincided with the sharp diplomatic rivalry between the British and the Russian empires on the northern borders of India. The Czar was rapidly expanding his authority over Central Asia and coming dangerously near the borders touching Kashmir in the north. The British in order to strengthen the northern posts, particularly Gilgit, took drastic measures to take into their hands the State administration. Following a series of political intrigues and false charges against the Maharaja, the British peremptorily ordered him to step down and hand over the administration to a Council of Regency presided over by his younger brother, Raja Amar Singh and comprising four members appointed directly by the Viceroy. In all matters of importance the Council itself was to function under the directions of the Resident.

Many important and revolutionary changes followed in the administrative set-up. New departments of Accounts, Public Works, Police, Forests and so on, were created and placed under the charge of British officers. They built them up on modern lines. The court language was changed from Persian to English, resulting in wholesale dismissal of the old staff and recruitment of personnel from outside the State. A Political Agency was set up in Gilgit and the neighbouring principalities of Hunza and Nagar were annexed to the State through military operations.

To facilitate the movement of troops and their equipment and supplies, a cart-road was built between Srinagar and Rawalpindi,

the nearest railhead, and opened to traffic in 1890. This had far-reaching effect on the socio-economic set-up of the people who were till then leading a secluded life. Later in 1912 the State undertook the construction of a cart-road over the Banihal pass which was completed in 1915.

The opening of the Valley to outside world resulted in the increase in tourist traffic bringing prosperity to several classes notably the boatmen, shikaris, handicraftsmen and so on. But the greatest boon conferred on the peasantry was the land and revenue settlement carried out by Sir Walter Lawrence whose memory is still cherished by the people. Previously the peasants were at the mercy of the rapacious officials, the *Patwaris* and *Tehsildars*, who exacted the last bushel of grain from their meagre produce. Lawrence fixed the area of their holdings and the amount of land revenue they had to pay in cash. Besides this humane reform, Lawrence also effected the partial abolition of the *Begar* or forced labour to which the poor peasants were subjected to.

Another beneficial boon which followed, was the establishment of an English-medium school by the British Missionaries at Srinagar as well as their medical mission. The school imparted modern education to the young Kashmiris and the hospital brought the much needed medical relief. Very soon the State took the cue and set up several schools and hospitals and dispensaries in various towns all over the State.

Steps were taken to mitigate the hardship caused by frequent floods in the Valley. Dredging operations to deepen the bed of the river Jhelum from the Wular lake to Baramulla and construction of a spill channel to reduce the danger of inundation to Srinagar city, were taken in hand. A hydro-electric power plant was installed at Mohora which supplied electricity not only for the working of the dredgers, but also to the city of Srinagar and towns in between.

Other beneficial measures were the setting up of a sericulture industry both at Srinagar and Jammu, which gave employment to thousands of factory workers and cocoon-rearers, mostly peasants. European fruit grafts improved the local varieties and fruit cultivation on modern lines turned the Valley into a vast orchard, supplying fruit to markets in India.

With the successful implementation of these beneficial measures, the British considered sympathetically Maharaja Partap Singh's appeals for restoration of his powers snatched away in 1889. In 1895 the Rules of Business of the Council were modified and he could ask for the proceedings of the Council and if he did not agree with any of its decisions, send them back for the Council's reconsideration. In 1905 the State Council was abolished and its powers of administration handed over to the Maharaja. He was however to be assisted by a Council of Ministers. An abstract of the orders and their disposal was to be sent to the Resident for his approval. Considering the Maharaja's assistance to the war effort during 1914-18, the Viceroy restored full powers to him in 1921. The Maharaja was considering to give effect to a scheme giving partial representation to the people but the outbreak of disturbances in the State prevented him from doing so.

These disturbances were the result of the frustration suffered by the Kashmiri Muslims who lagged behind in education. With the establishment of several high and middle schools and two full-fledged degree colleges, one in Srinagar and another in Jammu, the spread of education was making rapid progress. But it was lopsided because the Muslims did not take advantage of this. Meanwhile the Kashmiri Pandits who had taken with gusto to the new and modern education, were conducting a relentless agitation against the State's policy of recruiting non-State subjects to government jobs. The State had ultimately to bow before the popular demand and issue orders that further recruitment to government jobs be reserved exclusively for State subjects.

The backwardness of the Muslims on the educational front, resulted in minor disturbances in 1924 in the Srinagar Silk Factory. When Lord Reading visited the State, a few leading Muslims presented him with a Memorial listing various grievances of their community. The Maharaja set up a committee of Ministers to go into the complaint. Meanwhile some of the memorialists were externed and their property confiscated. The agitation was ruthlessly suppressed.

While these developments on the political field were in pro-

gress, Maharaja Partap Singh breathed his last in September 1925.

A devout Hindu, Maharaja Partap Singh was equally popular with his Muslim and Christian subjects. The secret of his popularity lay in being accessible to all—high or low. He listened to the grievances of a petitioner with attention and passed suitable orders, making sure they were implemented. He had righteous indignation for anything that was mean, cruel or oppressive. His whole life passed in trying to mitigate the sufferings of his subjects, in so far as his limited powers permitted him to do.

Here we enter the land of the living and part with the land of the dead, and caution imposes silence which we must observe and therefore take leave of the reader.

Some Important Contemporary Events in Politics and Culture in the World during the period of Muslim Rule in Kashmir from 1324 A.D. to 1819 A.D.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
A.D. 1324	—	Death of Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Din Shah Bu Ali Qalandar of Iraq at Panipat, Karnal.	Conversion of Ratanju or Rainchan Shah to Islam at the hands of Bulbul Shah. Commencement of the Kashmiri Era which continued till the advent of Mughal rule in the Valley.
1325	—	Muhammad Tughlaq ascends the throne. Death of Nizam-ud-Din Auliya at Delhi.	—
1326		—	Death of Ratanju or Sultan Sadr-ud-Din. Death of Bulbul Shah.
1328	Ibn-i-Taimiyya, the fore-runner of Wahabion, dies in captivity at Damascus.	—	
1333	—	Abu Abdullah-ibn-Batuta, the traveller, visits India.	

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1336	Timur born at Kash, in Transoxiana.	Transfer of Muhammad Tughlaq's capital from Delhi to Devagiri re-named Daulatabad. Foundation of the Vijayanagar Empire in the south.	Chaos in Kashmir.
1337	—	Muhammad Tughlaq sends an army to invade China but meets a serious disaster.	—
1342	—	—	Accession of Shah Mir. Suicide of Kota Rani.
1343	—	Muhammad Tughlaq receives the diploma of investiture from the Khalifa of Egypt.	
1346	The Turks take the Morea.	—	Death of Shah Mir. Accession of Sultan Jamshed.
1347	Calais taken by Edward III of England.	Zafar Khan Bahman Shah founds the Bahmani Kingdom of the Daccan.	Accession of Sultan Ala-ud-Din.
1348	Terrible pestilence in London.	—	—

1349	Order of the Garter institute in England.	—	Severe famine in Kashmir, due to untimely rain. Ala-ud-Din's generosity saves people from starvation.
1351	—	Death of Muhammad Tughlaq and accession of Firuz Tughlaq.	Birth of Lalla the hermitess (approximate). The poet Amrit-datta flourishes.
1352	—	Ilyas Shah unites the two Bengal principalities.	—
1355	—	Firuz Tughlaq cuts a canal from the Satluj to Jhajjar and later on another canal from the Jamuna to Hansi-Hissar.	—
1359	—	—	Death of Ala-ud-Din. Accession of Sultan Shihab-ud-Din. Kashmir starts on a career of foreign conquests, namely, that of the Punjab, Sind, Kabul, Qandhar and Little Tibet.
1361	The Turks enter Thrace and take Adrianople.	—	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1364	Allama Taqi-ud-Din Maqrizi born at Cairo.	—	—
1367	Timur assumed the title of the Great Khan.	—	—
1370	Gregory XI proscribed Wickliffe's doctrines.	—	—
1372	—	—	First visit of Shah Hamadan. Mir Muhammad born to Shah Hamadan. War between Sultan Feroz Shah of Delhi and Sultan Shihab-ud-Din of Kashmir at Ferozpur (Punjab). Madrassas established throughout the valley for the teaching of Qoran and Muslim theology.
1377	Rome again the seat of the Pope on the return of Pope Gregory XI.	—	Birth of Sheikh Nur-ud-Din, the patron saint of Kashmir at Kaimoh village in the Advin Pargana.

1378	The Great Schism. Urban VI in Rome. Clement VII at Avignon.	—	—
1379	—	—	Accession of Sultan Qutab-ud-Din. Second visit of Shah Hamadan.
1380	First invasion of Persia by Timur.	Kabir born.	—
1381	Peasant Revolt in England. Wat Tyler murdered in the presence of King Richard II.	—	Flood in Kashmir.
1383	Moscow burnt.	—	Third visit of Shah Hamadan.
1384	Second invasion of Persia by Timur.	—	Death of Shah Hamadan at Khatlan.
1388	Shah-i-Naqshband, founder of the Naqshbandi, order of Dervishes, dies.	Death of Firuz Tughlaq	—
1389	Death of Khwaja Shams-ud-Din Hafiz of Shiraz.	—	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1392	Third and last invasion of Persia by Timur.		
1393	—	—	Visit of Mir Muhammad Hamadani, son of Shah Hamadan.
1394	—	Khwaja Jahan founds the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur.	Accession of Sultan Sikandar.
1395	Timur's invasion of Russia.	—	Erection of Khanqah-i-Mo'alla by Sultan Sikandar.
1397	—	Muzaffar Shah founds the Kingdom of Gujrat.	—
1398	—	Invasion of Timur; Sack of Delhi.	Sikandar proceeds to Baramulla to meet Timur. The meeting however does not take place. Prince Shahi Khan, afterwards Zain-ul-Abidin, is therefore, deputed to Samarqand. Persecution of Hindus in Kashmir by Malik Siya Butt, prime minister of Sultan Sikandar.

			Abolition of 'suttee' in Kashmir.
			Erection of the great Jama Mosque and establishment of the great college opposite to the Jama Mosque.
1401	Persecution of Lollards who were burnt alive in England.	Dilawar Khan founds the Ghori dynasty of Malwa.	—
1403	—	—	Completion of the great Jama Mosque of Srinagar by Sultan Sikandar.
1405	Death of Timur. Ibn-i-Khaldun dies.	Hushang Shah Gori of Malwa ascends the throne.	—
1407	France laid under an interdict by the Pope.	Feroz Shah Bahmani builds an Observatory near Daulatabad.	
1414	The poet Jami born.	Khizr Khan ascends the throne of Delhi and founds the Sayyid dynasty.	—
1416	—	—	Death of Sultan Sikandar. Accession of Sultan Ali Shah.
1417	End of the Great Schism. Martin V, Pope.	The Assamese conquer North Eastern Bengal.	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1424	*Zafar Nama* of Sharaf-ud-Din Ali Yazdi.	—	Death of Sultan Ali Shah.
	—		Accession of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin (Bud Shah). Kashmir acquires fame in arts and crafts. The Royal University of Naushehra founded during his reign.
			Punjab and Tibet re-conquered.
1427	—	Ahmadnagar founded	The poet Soma flourishes under the patronage of Bud Shah.
1429	Siege of Orleans raised by Joan of Arc.	—	"Suna Lunk" built by Bud Shah in the Dal lake (approximate).
1431	Joan of Arc burnt at Rouen.	—	—
1436	—	Mahmud ascends the throne of Mandu, and founds the Khalji dynasty of Malwa.	—
1438	—	—	Death of Sheikh Nur-ud-Din the patron saint of Kashmir.

1442	Allama Maqrizi dies.	—	—
1443	—	Abdur Razzaq arrives at Vijayanagar as the ambassador of Sultan Shah Rukh of Samarqand.	
1445	Discovery of Cape Verde by the Portuguese. Jalal-ud-Din-as-Suyuti, the author of *Tarikh-ul-Khulafa*, born at Suyut in Upper Egypt.	—	*Mahabharata* translated into Persian by Mulla Ahmad Kashmiri under the orders of Bud Shah (approximate).
1446	First printed books (Coster in Haarlem).	—	Jonaraja, the poet and historian, flourishes under Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.
1450	......	Bahlol Lodhi ascends the throne of Delhi and founds the Lodhi dynasty.	Death of Mir Muhammad Hamadani at Khatlan.
		Kabir, a disciple of Ramanand, assails the Shastras and the Qoran and uses the Punjabi language as an instrument.	

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1453	Constantinople taken by the Turks under Muhammad II, which ended the Eastern Roman Empire.	—	"Zaina Lank" built in the Wular lake by Bud Shah.
1455	War of the Roses.	—	—
1456	Greece subjected to the Turks.	—	—
1459	—	Accession of Sultan Mahmud Begra to the throne of Gujrat.	—
1461	Edward IV deposes Henry VI (England).	—	—
1468	Persia conquered by Turkomans.	—	—
1469	—	Nanak, the founder of Sikhism, born.	Crops spoilt by excessive rain. The Sultan took active measures for counteracting famine.
1471	Printing introduced by Caxton in England.	—	Death of Sultan Zain-ul-Abidin.

1474	—	—	Accession of Sultan Haidar Shah.
1475	Edward IV of England invades France.	Khond Mir, the historian, born at Herat.	Accession of Sultan Hasan Shah.
1476	—	Bahlol Lodhi annexes Jaunpur.	Encouragement of music by Hasan Shah.
1480	Ivan III, Grand Duke of Moscow, throws off the Mongol allegiance. Inquisition established in Spain.	—	Great fire destroys half of Srinagar including the Jama Masjid and Khanqah-i-Moalla. Hasan Shah rebuilds the Mosque and the Khanqah.
1481	Death of Sultan Muhammad II of Turkey while preparing for the conquest of Italy. Bayazid II, Turkish Sultan (to 1512).	Execution of Khwaja Mahmud Gawan.	—
1482	—	Zahir-ud-Din Babur Badshah born in Ferghana.	—
1483	Richard III deposes Edward V (England).	—	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1485	Richard III slain at Bosworth Field (England).	Chaitanya born at Nuddca (Navadvip)	......
1487-1527	—	—	Death of Sultan Hasan Shah. Muhammad Shah a child. Fateh Shah usurps the throne. Muhammad Shah regains the throne. Arrival of Mir Shams-ud-Din Iraqi in Kashmir, Chaks converted to Shiism.
1490-1512	—	Rise of the Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Golkanda, Bidar and Berar Kingdoms.	—
1492	The termination of the struggle of 800 years between the Moors and Spain is celebrated throughout Christendom.	—	—

1492	Three months after the fall of Granada, the Jews are offered the alternatives of conversion or exile and about 150,000 leave the country for different parts of Europe and the Ottoman Empire.	—	—
1494	Aberdeen University is founded.	—	—
1496	Charles VIII of France invades Italy.	—	—
1497	Passage to the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope discovered by Vasco da Gama. Jesus College, Cambride, founded.	—	—
1498	Insurrection of Perkin Warbeck finally quelled in England.	Vasco da Gama lands at Calictt.	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1499-1502	Muhammadans persecuted and expelled from Spain after the alternatives of conversion or exile having been offered to them.	—	—
1499	Switzerland becomes an independent republic. Ismail Safvi founds the Safavi Family of Persia after expelling the Turkomans. Shiism established in Persia during Safvi rule.	—	Mirza Haidar Doghlat born at Tashqand. Earthquake in Kashmir.
1502, 1504, 1524	Peasant's Wars in Germany.	—	—
1503	—	Sikandar Lodhi fixes his capital at Agra.	—
1504	—	Babur conquers Kabul.	—

1505	Christ College at Cambridge founded.	—	—
1507	—	Albuquerque at Goa.	—
1509-27	—	Rana Sanga reigns at Chitor.	—
1510	—	The Portuguese capture Goa.	—
1513	Macchiavelli, suspected of treason, leaves Florence and composes *The Prince* which he dedicates to Lorenzo de Medici in the hope of employment.	—	—
1516	More's *Utopia* published in Latin. Corpus College, Oxford, founded. Egypt conquered by Ottoman Turks.	—	—
1517	Sultan Salim of Turkey annexes Egypt. Luther propounds his theses at Wittenberg.	Ibrahim Lodhi ascends the throne.	Death of Fateh Shah.

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1519	The poet Baba Fighani of Shiraz dies.	—	—
1520	Sultan Sulaiman the Magnificent (to 1566) who ruled from Baghdad to Hungary.	—	Sikandar Shah, son of Fateh Shah revolts against Muhammad Shah.
	Height of Ottoman Power, 1520-1566.		—
	Death of Raphael.		
1521	Luther ex-communicated by the Diet at Worms.	—	Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi born.
1526	Turks occupy Buda.	Babur wins the battle of Panipat and founds the Mughal Empire of India.	—
1527	War with the Pope. Germans storm Rome. Death of Macchiavelli.	Chaitanya died at the age of 42.	Sultan Ibrahim Shah rules.
1529	Sulaiman of Turkey besieged Vienna.	—	—

1530	Persecution of Protestants begins in France. Henry VIII of England begins quarrelling with the Papacy.	Babur dies and Humayun ascends the throne. Bahadur Shah annexes Malwa. Bakshu, a singer at the court of Bahadur Shah flourishes.	—
1531	Royal Printing Press established in France.	—	Mirza Haidar Doghlat invades first Ladakh, then Kashmir and then Tibet Proper on behalf of Sultan Said Khan.
1532	Robert Stephens prints his Latin Bible.	—	—
1534	The Pope's authority in England abolished.	—	Mirza Haidar returns to Ladakh from his expedition against Tibet Proper.
1535	Sir Thomas More beheaded.	Second sack of Chitor. Sher Khan Suri defeats Humayun at Chaunsa.	—
1536	Henry VIII of England executes his Queen Anne Boleyn, on a charge of infidelity.	—	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1536	The Inquisition is introduced by the Portuguese Church. Wales is United to England in matters of law. The first Poor Law forbids begging.	—	—
1537	—	—	Sultan Shams-ud-Din II rules.
1538	Death of Al-Mutwak-*kil*, the last of the Abbaside Caliphs.	—	—
1539	—	Death of Nanak.	Mirza Haidar Doghlat becomes an adherent of Humayun.
1540	Cromwell, Lord Essex, beheaded. Portuguese settle at Macao. St. Xavier preaches Chritianity in Japan.	Battle of the Ganges, flight of Humayun.	Sultan Ismail Shah rules.

1541	—	—	Mirza Haidar Doghlat conquers Kashmir on the invitation of a faction of Kashmiri nobles and acts as Humayun's Governor but sets up Nazuk Shah (or Nadir Shah) as the Sultan of Kashmir.
1542	Queen Catherine Howard beheaded by Henry VIII of England.	Akbar born at Amarkot	—
1543	Death af Copernicus. First Protestant is burned in Spain.	Sher Khan Suri ascends the throne.	Death of Kaji Chak.
1544	Beginning of the Sharifs of Morocco.	—	
1545-54	—	Islam Shah Suri reigns.	Naghz Beg revives Shawl-wearing in Kashmir (approximate).
1545	The Council of Trent (to 1563) assembled to put the Church in order.	—	Naghz Beg revives shawl-weaving in Kashmir (approximate).

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
A.D.			
1546	Death of Martin Luther. Trinity College, Cambridge, founded by Henry VIII.	Salimgarh at Delhi first built by Salim Shah Suri.	—
1547	—	Tulsi Das commences his *Ramayana*.	Use of tea introduced by Mirza Haidar Doghlat (approximate).
1548	Rebellion in Peru. Jena University founded.	—	—
1549	—	*Malik-i-Maidan* Gun cast at Bijapur.	—
1551	—	—	Mirza Haidar Doghlat killed.
1552	Somerset beheaded in England.		Ismail, set up by Daulat Chak's party.
1553	—	—	Severe earthquake. Sultan Habib Shah, the last of the line of Shah Mir.

1554	Queen Mary of England persecutes the Protestants.	—	Ghazi Chak, the first ruler of the Chak line.
1555	—	Defeat of Sikandar Suri at Sirhind. Humayun resumes away.	—
1555-56	Ridley, Latimer and Granmer burnt in England.		—
1556	—	Humayun dies. Akbar succeeds to the throne. Defeat of Hemu at Panipat.	—
1560	—	Dismissal of Bairam Khan by Akbar. Akbar grants religious freedom throughout India. Inquisition established by the Potruguese at Goa.	—
1560-62	—	Subjugation of Jaunpur, Malwa and Khandesh by Akbar.	—
1561	The Merchant Taylors' School founded in London.	—	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1562	—	Abolition of *Jaziya* by Akbar. Marriage of Akbar to Jaipur princess. Tan Sen, musician and singer, brought to Akbar's court.	Allama Abdul Hakim Kashmiri born at Sialkot (approximate).
1563	End of the Council of Trent and the reform of the Catholic Church.	—	Husain Shah Chak rules.
1564	Galileo born.	—	—
1565	—	Battle of Talikota. Vijayanagar Empire destroyed. Decline of Portuguese trade at Goa.	—
1566	Death of Sulaiman the Magnificent of Turkey. The Royal Exchange founded by Gresham in London.	Agra Fort commenced by Akbar on the site of an older one constructed by Salim Shah Suri, the son of Sher Shah Suri.	—

1567	Revolt of the Netherlands. Rugby School founded.	Fall of Chitor. Faizi presented at Akbar's court.	—
1569	—	Prince Salim (Jahangir) born.	—
1570	—	Humayun's tomb at Delhi completed.	Ali Shah Chak. A great famine. Embassy from Akbar.
1571	Cyprus taken by Turkey from the Venetians.	Sheikh Salim Chisti dies.	—
1572	Massacre of St. Bartholomew.	Tulsi Das' *Ramayana* completed.	Flood in Kashmir.
1572-84	—	Subjugation of Gujrat by Akbar.	—
1574	—	Guru Ram Das establishes himself at Amritsar. Abul Fazl introduced at Akbar's court. Abdul Qadir and Badaoni presented at the court of Akbar.	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1575-90	—	Subjugation of Bengal and Orissa by Akbar.	—
1576	The head Lama of the chief monastery of Lhasa is made Grand Lama of Tibet.	—	Famine due to untimely snowfall.
1577	Ivan IV (the Terrible) took the title of Tsar of Russia.	—	—
1579	North's Translation of Plutarch's *Lives*.	—	Yusuf Shah Chak. Sayed Mubarak Baihaqi. Lohur Shah Chak. Yusuf Shah again. Yaqub Shah Chak.
1580	Portugal united to Spain by conquest.	—	—
1582	Edinburgh University founded.	Din-i-ilahi proclaimed by Akbar.	—

1582	Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages.	—	—
1583	Galileo discovers the Principle of the Pendulum.	—	—
1584	—	Akbar establishes the ilahi era.	—
1586	Abbas the Great of Persia begins his reign of 42 years during which he developes the material resources of the country, extends his rule along the Persian Gulf and Afghan Frontier, recovers territory from the Turks and maintains religious toleration.	—	End of Chak rule after 32 years. Annexation of Kashmir to the Mughal Empire by Akbar.
1588	Defeat of the Spanish Armada by England.	—	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1589	The Academy of Kieve the first educational institution founded in Russia.	Death of Todar Mal.	—
1590	Isfahan made the capital of Persia.	—	First visit of Akbar to Kashmir.
1591	Queen Elizabeth founds Trinity College, Dublin.	Char Minar built at Hyderabad (Deccan). The poet Urfi Shirazi dies in India.	—
1592	Falkand Isles discovered by Davis. The remains of Pompeii are discovered. The Portuguese build a fort at Mombasa which becomes the capital of their northern settlements.	Subjugation of Sind by Akbar.	—

1593	—	Bukhshi Nizam-ud-Din's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* ends.	Second visit of Akbar.
1594	—	Subjugation of Qandahar and Baluchistan.	Sheikh Yaqub Sarfi dies.
1595	—	Chand Bibi successfully defends Ahmadnagar against the Mughals.	—
		Faizi dies.	—
		Badaoni's *History* ends.	
1596	—	—	Third visit of Akbar.
			Famine in Kashmir, Hariparbat Fort built as a relief measure.
1597	Bodley bequeaths his library to Oxford University.	—	—
1598-1610	Philip III banished the Moors from Spain. Irreparable damage to the country in agriculture and industry on account of their banishment.	—	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1599	—	Capture of Ahmadnagar.	—
1600	—	Capture of Asirgarh. English East India Company formed. Anarkali's tomb built by Jahangir in Lahore.	—
1602	Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.	Murder of Abul Fazl. Dutch East India Company formed.	—
1602-20	The Dutch seize the Portuguese settlements in India.	—	—
1603	James I of England and Scotland.	—	Famine due to untimely rains. Grains imported from the Punjab by Akbar's order. Cholera raged for 40 days.
1604	At the Hampton Court Conference James agrees to the revision of the Bible.	Tobacco introduced into the Moghul empire having just been brought by Portuguese traders at Bijapur.	—

1605	Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*. Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, Part I.	—	The Poet Abu Talib Kalim dies.
1605-10	Silk and other manufactures introduced by Henry IV and Sully.	—	—
1606	—	Jahangir succeeds to the throne on the death of Akbar.	—
1609	Independence of Holland. Shakespeare's *Sonnets* published without his sanction.	—	—
1611	Baronets first-created in England.	—	—
1612	—	—	Stone basin of Verinag Spring built by Jahangir.
1613	—	British Factory established at Surat.	—
1614	Raleigh's *History of the World*.	—	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excludingKashmir*	*Kashmir*
1615	Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, Part II.	Sir Thomas Roe's Embassy to the Mughals.	Akhun Rahnuma Kashmiri revives carpet-weaving on his return from Haj *via* Central Asia.
		The poet Zahuri of Tarshiz dies in an affray in the Deccan.	
1616	Shakespeare and Cervantes die.	—	—
1617	—	—	Raisul-Mulk Haidar Malik Chadaura writes his *History of Kashmir*.
1618	The Thirty Years' War begins between the Evangelic union under the Elector Palatine and the Catholic League under the Duke of Bavaria.	—	—

1619	—	—	Jahangir visits Kashmiri and lays at the Shalamar Bagh. Fire in Srinagar.
1620	Bacon's *Novum Organum* declares experience the starting point and induction the true method of knowledge.	—	
1622	—	—	Pathar Masjid built by Nur Jahan.
1623	The Dutch massacre English traders at Amboyana.	—	—
1624	—	Tulsi Das dies.	—
1625	Charles I of England.	—	—
1626	Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam) died.	—	—
1627	—	Shah Jahan succeeds Jahangir. Sivaji born. Ibrahim Rauza built at Bijapur.	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1627-31	War of the Mantuan Succession.	—	—
1628	—	The tomb of Jahangir at Shahdara built by Shah Jahan.	—
1630	Gustavus-Adolphus of Sweden invades Germany.	—	Mulla Tahir Ghani, the great poet of Kashmir, was born.
1631	—	Building of Taj Mahal begun.	—
1632	—	—	Chashma-i-Shahi Garden laid out. Zafar Khan, Governor of Kashmir. Saib of Iran visits, Kashmir and meets Ghani.
1634	—	Wazir Khan's mosque built at Lahore.	Nishat Bagh laid out.
1635	—	—	Nasim Bagh laid out.
1638	The Turks defeat the Persians and take the city of Baghbad.	Building of Lal Qila of Delhi commenced by Shah Jahan.	—

1640	—	—	Achhabal Spring Garden laid out.
1642	Galileo died. Newton born.	—	—
1644	The Manchus establish themselves in China.	—	—
1648	Milton's "Letter on Education".	Lal Qila of Delhi completed Taj Mahal completed Jama Masjid, Agra, built by Jahanara Begum completed.	—
1648-50	Cromwell Protector (till 1658).	Delhi Jama Masjid built.	—
1649	Execution of Charles I of England.	—	—
1650	Death of Descartes.	—	—
1651	The English acquire St. Helena.	—	—
1655	China checks the advance of Russia south of the Amur.	—	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1656	—	Gol Gumbaz built at Bijapur.	—
1657	Cromwell founds the Durham University which is suppressed at the Restoration and revived in 1837.	—	—
1658	—	Aurangzeb deposes Shah Jahan and himself ascends the throne.	—
1659	Moliere's first masterpiece.	Sivaji in the Deccan. Bernier arrives in India.	Allama Abdul Hakim Kashmiri of Sialkot dies. Severe earthquake.
1662	Death of Pascal.	Acquisition of Bombay by the English from Portugal.	—
1664	New York captured by the English.	Sivaji loots Surat.	—
1665	—	Sivaji surrenders to Aurangzeb.	Aurangzeb visits Kashmir. Bernier also visits the valley.

1668	—	—	Mulla Tahir Ghani, the great poet of Kashmir, dies.
1669	The Turks captured Crete from the Venetians after 20 years' war.	—	—
1670	The poet Saib of Isfahan dies.	—	—
1671	—	—	Mulla Mohsin Fani, the philosopher poet of Kashmir, and the author of the *Dabistan* dies.
1673	Death of Moliere.	—	—
1674	Death of Milton.	Jama Masjid, Lahore, built by Aurangzeb.	—
1675	The Royal Observatory at Greenwich.	—	Fire in Srinagar.
1679	—	Aurangzeb attacks Bijapur.	—
1680	—	Death of Sivaji.	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1682	—	—	Continuous rain for one month spoils all crops.
1684	—	—	Farrukh Siyar born of his Kashmiri mother.
1685	—	Aurangzeb drives out the English from Bengal.	—
1686	—	Fall of Bijapur.	Sunnis and Shias quarrel.
1687	Newton's Law of Gravitation.	Fall of Golconda.	—
1688	Revolution in England. William of Orange becomes King of England.	—	—
1689	Peter the great of Russia (to 1725).	—	—

1690	—	Establishment of Fort William at Calcutta.	Hifzullah Khan hands over charge to Muzaffar Khan as Subedar of Kashmir.
1693	Locke's *Thoughts on Education.*	—	—
1694	Bank of England incorporated Voltaire born.	—	—
1698	—	—	Khwaja Nur-ud-Din Ashawari Kashmiri brought the sacred hair of the Prophet from Bijapur. This led to the construction of the Ziarat at Hazratbal.
1701	War of the Spanish Succession.	—	—
1703	St. Petersburg founded.	—	—
1705	Moscow University founded by Peter the Great.	—	—
1707	Russia takes Kamaskatka.	Death of Aurangzeb,	Jalal Khan, Subedar of Kashmir.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
A.D.			
1708	—	Sahu Raja of Satara.	—
1709	Russian prisoners first sent to Siberia.	—	—
1711	Pope's *Essay on Criticism.*	—	Madrassa Syed Mansur established.
	Addison and Steele edit the *Spectator.*		
1713	Peace of Utrecht.	—	—
1714	Accession of the House of Hanover. Tripoli becomes independent of Constantinople.	—	—
1715	The Morea retaken by the Turks.	Banda put to death	
	Death of Louis the fourteenth.		

1717	—	Balaji Vishwanath Peshwa.	—
1719	Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.	—	Death of Farrukh Siyar.
1720	The Duke of Savoy becomes King of Sardinia. Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab born in Najd.	—	—
1724	The South Sea Bubble.	Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk established in the Deccan.	Famine due to excessive rain.
1725	Expulsion of Christians from Japan. Behring, a Dane, discovers Behring Straits. Death of Peter the Great.	—	—
1729	Nadir Shah aids the deposed Shah of Persia and defeats the Afghans.	—	—
1732	Nadir Shah deposes the Shah on the ground of incompetence and sets up his infant son.	—	Earthquake and flood.

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1735	End of war between Turkey and Nadir.	—	Khawaja Azam wrote his *Waqaat* History of Kashmir.
1738	Nadir Shah captures Qandhar and Kabul.	—	
1739	—	Nadir Shah's sack of Delhi.	Khwaja Abdul Karim of Kashmir arrives at Shahjahanabad (Delhi).
1740	Abdul Wahab of Najd commences his Puritan movement.	Balaji Rao Peshwa, Anwar-ud-Din, Nawab of Karnatic. Saadat Khan, Nawab Wazir of Oudh. Ali Vardi Khan, Nawab of Bengal.	—
1741	Linnaeus botanical garden at Upsala.	—	—
1745	—	Rise of the Rohillas.	—
1746	—	Wars of the Karnatic begin. Begam Samru born.	10,000 houses swept away by flood.

1747	On the death of Nadir, his cavalry-general Ahmad Shah Durrani seizes the throne and founds the kingdom of modern Afghanistan.	—	Death of Emperor Muhammad Shah of Delhi.
1748	Excavation of Pompeii begin.	Ahmed Shah's first invasion of the Punjab. Death of Nizam-ul-Mulk.	—
1749	—	Insurrection of Wahabies.	—
1750	—	Muzaffar Jang succeeds Nasir Jang. Tarabai stirs up rising against the Peshwa.	—
1751	—	Salabat Jang succeeds Muzaffar Jang. Sonehri Masjid of Delhi built by Jareed Khan.	—
1752	—	Ali Vardi Khan cedes Orissa and pays Chauth for Bengal to the Mahrattas.	Ahmad Shah Abdali conquers Kashmir. End of Mughal rule in the valley.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
A.D.			
1754	—	Ghazi-ud-Din deposes Ahmad.	Famine due to excessive rain. Sukh Jewan Mal governs Kashmir.
1754-59	—	Alamgir II reign.	—
1756	—	Black Hole of Calcutta.	—
1756-60	—	Clive in Bengal.	—
1756-63	Seven Years' War between Austria and Prussia and their respective Allies.	—	—
1757	—	Battle of Plassey; Conquest of India by the British begins under Clive.	Abdul Wahab Shaiq begins his versified history of Kashmir (approximate).
		Ahmad Shah Abdali sacks Delhi.	
1759	Canada lost ; Battle of Quebec.	Ghazi-ud-Din murders Alamgir.	—
1759-1806	—	Shah Alam is titular king of Delhi.	—

[illegible]	—	Salabat Jang hemmed in at Udayagiri, cedes large territory to Mahrattas.	—
[illegible]	—	English take Pondicherry.	—
		Defeat of Mahrattas at Panipat by Ahmad Shah Abdali.	
		Mir Qasim becomes Nawab of Bengal.	
1762-63	War between England and Spain.	Haidar Ali becomes the ruler of Mysore.	Dismissal of Sukh Jewan Mal.
	The Spaniards and French invade Portugal which is saved by the English.		
	Peace of Paris. Canada ceded to England.		
1764	Rousseau's *Emile*.	Battle of Buxsar. Shah Alam accepts English protection.	Khwaja Azam dies.
1765	—	Clive obtains the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Mughal Emperor.	—

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1769	Napoleon Bonaparte born Steam Engine.	—	—
1770	—	Famine in Bengal	Flood.
1771	—	Shah Alam goes to Delhi with Mahrattas.	Amir Jawan Sher Governor.
1772	First Partition of Poland.	Warren Hastings Governor of Bengal.	Shergarhi and Amira Kadal Bridge constructed.
1773	—	Death of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Accession of his son Timur Shah who removes the capital from Qandhar to Kabul.	—
		Suppression of the Rohillas.	
1774	—	Warren Hastings, Governor-General of India.	Khwaja Kamal-ud-Din Naqshbandi killed.
		Ram Mohun Roy born at Radhanagar in the District of Hugli.	
1775	—	Shuja-ud-Dowlah becomes Nawab Wazir of Oudh.	—
		Execution of Nand Kumar.	

1776	American War. Declaration of Independence by the United States. The first volume of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* appears.	—	Haji Karim Dad Khan Governor of Kashmir.
1778	Deaths of Chatham. Linnaeus, Rousseau, and Voltaire.	—	—
1780	—	Ranjit Singh born to Mahan Singh. Hicky's *Gazetteer* appears.	—
1781	—	Calcutta Madrassa founded by Warren Hastings.	—
1782	Independence of U.S.A. recognized by England.	Death of Haidar Ali. Tippu Sultan of Mysore.	Fire in Srinagar.
1783	Peace of Versailles between England and France.	—	Cholera. Haji Karimdad Khan dies.
1784	—	Bengal Asiatic Society established by Sir William Jones.	Earthquake.

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
A.D.			
1785	Power-loom Cowper's *The Task*.	—	—
1786	—	Lord Cornwallis Governor-General of India.	Mir Dad Khan Subah of Kashmir.
1788	War between Germany and Turkey.	Trial of Warren Hastings begins in England.	—
	First Federal Congress of the United States at New York.		
1789	The French Revolution commences with the destruction of the Bastille.	Ghulam Qadir Rohilla blinds Shah Alam.	—
	George Washington, President of U.S.A.	Scindhia masters Delhi and curbs the Sikhs.	
1791	Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. Muhammad bin Ali bin Sanusi born at Algiers.	—	—

1792	—	Permanent Settlement of Bengal.	Zaman Shah Durrani ascends the throne as the ruler of Kabul.
1793	Second Partition of Poland.	—	—
1794	Reign of Terror in France.	Death of Madhava Rao Scindhia. Mr. Jonathan Duncan, Resident at Benares, endows the Sanskrit College at Benares for teaching Hindu Law and Literature.	—
1795	Third partition of Poland.	—	—
1796	Bonaparte's successful campaigns in Italy. England takes Ceylon.	—	Abdulla Khan Alkozai Subah of Kashmir.
	Agha Muhammad founds the Kajar dynasty of Persia. Teheran made the capital of Persia.		
1797	Destruction of the Republic of Venice.	—	—

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
A.D.			
1798	Battle of the Nile between England and France.	Marquis Wellesley Governor-General of India.	Kashmir Shawls become fashionable in Paris.
	Rebellion in Ireland.	Alarm of Afghan invasion under Zaman Shah.	
1799	—	Conquest of Mysore. Death of Tippu. Re-establishment of the Hindu Dynasty in Mysore.	—
		Ranjit Singh masters Lahore.	
1800	Proposed invasion of India by the Emperors Paul and Nepoleon.	Death of Nana Farnavis. Rise of Jaswant Rao Holkar, Amir Khan and of Ranjit Singh.	—
	Malcolm's Embassy to Persia.		
1801	Union of Great Britain with Ireland.	Rise of the Barakzais in Afghanistan.	Quarrel between Shias and Sunnis in Srinagar.

1802	Peace of Amiens (with England, Spain and Holland) signed by the French.	Ranjit Singh acquires Amritsar. Kharak Singh born to Ranjit Singh.	—
1803	France declares war against England.	—	Earthquake.
1804	France made an Empire; Nepoleon proclaimed Emperor and crowned by the Pope.	—	—
	Francis II assumes the title of Francis I, Emperor of Austria.		
1805	Nelson's victory and death at Trafalgar.	Failure of Lord Lake at Bharatpur.	Ata Muhammad Khan Governor of Kashmir.
1806	—	Akbar II is titular King of Delhi. Vellore Mutiny.	—
1807	Scheme of Indian invasion by the Emperors Alexander and Napoleon.	—	—

Date	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
A.D.			
1808	Commencement of the Peninsular War. Goethe's *Faust*, Part I.	British Missions to Kabul, Punjab and Sind.	—
1809	Divorce of the Emperor and Empress Josephine decreed by the French Senate.	Treaty of the British with Ranjit Singh.	—
		Shah Shuja expelled from Afghanistan.	
		Prem Sagar of Lalluji Lal appears, having been written in 1803.	
1810	Independence established by Chili. Berlin University founded.	Expulsion of Shah Shuja from Afghanistan.	—
1811	Independence established by Paraguay. Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt, destroys Mamluks.	Rise of the Pindaris.	—

1812	War between England and America commenced.	—	—
1813	Commencement of German War of Independence. The Order of Iron Cross instituted.	Ranjit Singh obtains the Koh-i-nur diamond from Shah Shuja.	Muhammad Azim, Governor of Kashmir. Famine.
1814	Locomotive.	Gurkha War. Ranjit Singh's attempt to get Kashmir fails.	—
1815	Napoleon abolishes Slave Trade. Napoleon defeated at Waterloo. Napoleon arrives at St. Helena to remain for life.	—	—
1816	Independence established by Buenos Ayres and other Provinces.	Hindu College of Calcutta established.	

Date A.D.	*The World excluding India*	*India excluding Kashmir*	*Kashmir*
1818	Mill's *History of British India.* Muhammad Ali Pasha of Egypt under orders from the Sultan of Turkey recovers the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina from the Wahabis.	First vernacular newspaper. First cotton mills in India.	—
1819	—	Last Mahratta war. Ranjit Singh takes Multan.	Kashmir taken by Ranjit Singh and annexed to the Punjab. Diwan Moti Ram first Sikh Governor. Cholera.

Bibliography

SOME OF THE MORE IMPORTANT, DIRECT, ORIGINAL SOURCES

Pre-Islamic Period

(*From the earliest times to* 1148 A.D.)

Stein's English Translation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*,[1] Vols. I and II.

Early Muhammadan Period

Pandit Jonaraja's Continuation of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*.[2]
Tarikh-i-Qalamrau-i-Kashmir by Qazi Ibrahim, Mutwalli, Khanqah-i-Mo'alla, Srinagar, MS.
Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Syed Ali ibn-i-Syed Muhammad Mutwalli Khanqah-i-Mo'alla, Srinagar. MS.
Srivara's *Jaina-Rajatarangini*.[2]

Mughal Period

Prajyabhatta's *Rajavalipataka*.[2]

Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazl Allami.
Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Haidar Doghlat.
Tarikh-i-Farishta of Muhammad Qasim Farishta.
Maasir-i-Rahimi of Mulla Abdul Baqi Nahawandi, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Rais-ul-Mulk Haidar Malik Chadaura, MS.
Bernier's Travels,[1] Edited by V. A. Smith.
Waqaat-i-Kashmir or *Tarikh-i-Azami* by Khwaja Muhammad Azam Didarmari.

Afghan Period

Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Abdul Wahab Shaiq, MS.
Waqa-i-Nizami by Maulvi Mufti Nizam-ud-Din, MS.

Kashmir Under the Sikhs

Amar Nath's *Tarikh-i-Ranjit Singh*, MS.
Buti Shah's *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, MS.
Moorcroft's *Travels*[1] (1819-25).

Kashmir Under the Dogras

Diwan Kirpa Ram's *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*.
Tarikh-i-Kashmir by Hasan Shah-i-Khoihama embraces the Hindu and Muhammadan periods. Khanqah-i-Mo'alla, Srinagar, MS.
Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir[3] by Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq, Editor, *The Kashmiri*,[3] Lahore, in 3 Vols., embraces Hindu (Vol. I), Muhammadan (Vol. II), and Sikh and Dogra Rule (Vol. III).
Also: *Administration and Census Reports*, etc.

(*Note*: Denoting 1 are in English; 2 are in Sanskrit; 3 are in Urdu andh at rest are in Persian.

LIST OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE HISTORY OF KASHMIR

No.	*Author*	*Manuscript*	*Language*	*Obtainable from*
1.	Abu Rafi-ud-Din Ahmad	Nawadir-ul-Akhbar	MS. (Persian)	British Museum, London.
2.	Abdul Qadir Khan	Hashmat-i-Kashmir	Do.	Do.
3.	Abul Qasim Muhd. Aslam Munimi.	Gauhar-i-Alam	Do.	Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
4.	Azam, Khwaja Muhd.	Waqaat-i-Kashmir	Do. (Note: Tarikh-i-Azami has been published but this MS. contains more matter).	Panjab University Library, Lahore.

No.	Author	Manuscript	Language	Obtainable from
5.	Amar Nath Akbari	Tarikh-i-Ranjit Singh	MS. (Persian)	British Museum, London.
6.	Baha-ud-Din Khushnavis, Mulla	Lub-ut-Tawarikh-i-Kashmir	Do.	Panjab University Library.
7.	Buti Shah	Tarikh-i-Punjab	Do.	Panjab University Library.
8.	Birbal Kachru, Pandit	Mukhtashir-ut-Tawarikh-i-Kashmir	Do.	K.B. Pirzada Muhd. Husain, M.A., formerly Judge, High Court, Srinagar.
9.	Annonymous, supposed to be by a Shia, Gentleman of Kahmir.	Baharistan-i-Shahi	Do.	British Museum, London.
10.	Haidar Malik Chadaura	Tawarikh-i-Kashmir	Do.	Khan Saheb Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B.A., Supdt., Archaeology, Agra.
11.	Hasan Malik, Khwaja	Tawarikh-i-Kashmir	MS. (Urdu)	Sri Partap Singh Public Library, Srinagar.
12.	Hasan Shah-i-Khoihama	Tarikh-i-Hasan	MS. (Persian)	Khanqah-i-Moalla, Srinagar.

	Khalil, Mulla Muhammad	Tarikh-i-Khalil	Do.	Mufti Muhammad Shah Saadat, Municipal Commr., Srinagar.
14.	Muhtasham, Mirza	Tarikh-i-Tanvir	Do.	Imam-i-Masjid, Banduq Khar Mohalla, Srinagar.
15.	Nafe, Muhd. Zaman	Tarikh-i-Nafe	Do.	Mufti Muhd. Shah Saadat, Municipal Commr., Srinagar.
16.	Narain Koul Ajiz, Pandit	Tawarikh-i-Kashmir	Do.	Sri Partap Singh Public Library, Srinagar.
17.	Qazi Ibrahim	Tarikh-i-Qalamrau-i-Kashmir.	Do.	Mufti Muhd. Shah Saadat, Municipal Commr., Srinagar.
18.	Shaiq, Abdul Wahab	Tarikh-i-Kashmir	Do.	Khan Saheb Mirza Ghulam Mustafa, Retired Wazir-i-Wazarat, Srinagar.
19.	Syed Ali ibn-i-Syed Muhammad	Do.	Do.	Mufti Muhd. Shah Saadat, Municipal Commr., Srinagar.
20.	Syed Saadullah Mir Shahabadi	Bagh-i-Sulaimani	Do.	Khanqah-i-Moalla, Srinagar.
21.	Zain-ul-Abidin's Biograghy	—	MS. (Kashmiri)	Sri Partap Singh Public Library, Srinagar.

LIST OF PUBLISHED WORKS

A

Abdul Baqi Nahawandi, Mulla, *Maasir-i-Rahimi*, Parts I & II, pp. 199-265, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Edited by Blochmann, Calcutta, 1867.

Abbruzi, Duke of *Karakoram and Western Himalaya.*

Adams, A.L., *Wanderings of a Naturalist in India*, Edinburgh, 1867.

Akbar Shah of Najibabad, *Maulana Ghani* (Mulla Tahir Ghani, Poet of Kashmir), Publisher Muhammad-ud-Din Fauq, Lahore.

Alberuni, *India*, Translated by Dr. Edward C. Sachau, Trubner, 1910.

Anand Koul, Pandit, "Kashmir Papier Mache Industry", *East, and West*, July, 1916.

"Kashmir Carpet Industry", *East and West*, October, 1915.

"Shawls", *East and West*, January, 1915.

The Kashmiri Pandit, Thacker Spink and Co., 1924.

Jammu and Kashmir State, Thacker Spink and Co., 1913.

"History of Kashmir", *J.A.S.B.*, April, 1910.

"History of Kashmir", *J.A.S.B.*, New Series, Vol. IX, No. 5, 1913.

Life Sketch of Laleshwari—A great hermitess of Kashmir, British India Press, Bombay, 1922, Reprint from the "Indian Antiquary" Vol. L, 1921.

Ansley, Mrs. Murray, *Our Visit to Hindustan, Kashmir and Ladakh*, 1879.

Arbuthnot, James, *A Trip to Kashmir*, Thacker Spink and Co., Calcutta, 1900.

Archaeological and Research Department Reports, Kashmir, 1909 to date.

Archaeological Survey of India Reports.

Arnold, Sir T.W., *The Preaching of Islam*, Constable, London, 1913.

Azam Shah, Khwaja Muhammad, *Waqaat-i-Kashmir*, (Tarikh-i-Kashmir Azami), Muhammadi Press, Lahore.

B

Babur, *Tuzuk-i-Baburi.*

Bamber, *Plants of the Punjab*, N.W.F.P. and Kashmir, 1916.

Basu, J.C., *Kashmir and its Prince*, Calcutta, 1889.

Badaoni, Mulla Abdul Qadir, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, published by the Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

Bellew, Surgeon Major H.W., *Kashmir and Kashghar* (*Journey* 1873-74) —*Trubner*, 1875.

Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire* A.D. *1656-1668*, Revised Edition by V.A. Smith, Oxford, 1916.

Biddulph, Major J., *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, Calcutta, 1880.

Bingley, Capt. A.H., *Dogras*, Simla, 1899.

Birdwood, *The Industrial Arts of India*, Chapman and Hall, 1880.

Blacker, J.F., *The A.B.C. of Indian Art*, Stanley Paul and Co.

Bruce, Hon. Mrs. C.S., *Kashmir* (*Peeps at Many Lands Series*) A. and C. Black Ltd., 1915.

C

Carter, G.E.L., *The Stone Age in Kashmir*, 1924.

Chatterjee, J.C., Note on the Vitasta, etc., in *Kashmir and Jammu*, 1900.

Cole, H.H., *Illustrations of Ancient Buildings in Kashmir*, London, 1869.

Indian Art in South Kensington Museum, London, 1874.

Coomarswamy, Dr. A.K., *Art and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, T.N. Forlis, 1913.

Coventry, B.O., *Wild Flowers of Kashmir*, Raithby Lawrence and Co., London, 1923.

Cunningham, Sir, Alexander, *Ancient Geography of India*, Buddhist Period, Trubner, 1871, pp. 89-103.

Cunningham, Sir, Alexander, *Archaeological Report—1833 to 1834*, Vol. 23.

Cunningham, Sir, Alexander, *Coins of Medieval India from the 7th Century down to Muhammadan Conquest*, 1894.

D

Darrah, H.Z., *Sport in the Highlands of Kashmir*, Rowland Ward, London, 1898.

DeBourbel, *Routes in Jammu and Kashmir*, Calcutta, 1897.

Digby, Wm., *Condemned Unheard*, London, 1890.

Drew, F., *The Jammu and Kashmir Territories*, A Geographical Account, 1875.

The Northern Barrier of India, London, 1877.

Duke, Col., *Kashmir and Jammu.*

Dutt, J.C., *Kings of Kashmir*, English Translation of *Rajataragini*, Two Volumes, 1879-87.

Douie, *Punjab, N.-W.F. and Kashmir*, 1916.

Doughty, Marion, *Afoot through the Valleys of Kashmir*, Sands, 1902.

E

East India (Kashmir), (*Parliamentary Paper No.* C. *6072 of 1890*), London, 1890.

Educational Problems of Muhammadans in Kashmir, (*Conference Bulletin* No. 13), Aligarh.

Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vols. II, V, VI and VII.

F

Farishta, Muhd. Qasim, *History of the Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, Briggs English Translation in four volumes.

Fergusson, Dr. Jas, *Archaeology in India*, Trubner, 1884.

Forrest, G.W., *Letters, etc. in the Foreign Dept., of the G. of I*, Calcutta, 1890, Vol. 1.

G

Ghulam Ahmad Khan, *Census Report of Kashmir for 1901*, C. & M. Gazette Press, Lahore, 1902.

Ghulam Ahmad Mahjur, Pir, *Hayat-i-Rahim*, Ravi Printing Works, Lahore, 1340 A.H.

Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazina-tul-Asfiya*, (Lives of Saints), Newal-kishore.

Grierson, *Manual of the Kashmiri Language*, 1911, 2 Vols.
Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language.
Grammar of the Kashmiri Language.

Girdlestone, Charles, *Memo. on Kashmir.*

Griffin, Sir, L.H., *Punjab Chiefs.*
Rajas of the Punjab.
Ranjit Singh.

H

Havel, E.B., *History of Aryan Rule in India*, Harrap, 1918.

Hugel, B.C., and Major T.B., Jervis, *Travels in Kashmir and the Punjab* (*Under Sikhs*) 1845.

Herbertson, A.J.K., Howearth, O.J.R., *Oxford Survey of British Empire*, O.U.P., 1914.

Harcourt, *Himalayan Districts*, 1870.

Honigberger, *Thirty-five years in the East, Medicine*, etc., 1852, Vol. 2.

Hargopal Koul Khasta, *Guldasta-i-Kashmir*, Farsi Arya Press, Lahore, 1883.

Haidar Dughlat, Mirza Muhammad, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Translated by Dr. E.D. Ross, 1895.

Hutchison, J. and Vogel, J. Ph., "History of Jammu State," *J.P.H.S.*, Vol. VIII.
"History of Kashtwar State", *J.P.H.S.*, Vol. IV.
"History of Bhadrawah State", *J.P.H.S.*, Vol. IV.

I

Imperial Gazetteer of India, Volume containing 'Kashmir'.

Ince, *Kashmir Handbook: A Guide for Visitors*, Thacker Spink and Co., 1888.

J

Jacquement, Victor, *Letters from India*, ed. 2 (London, 1835), 2 V.

Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Royal Asiatic Society, 1909-14.

K

] ,R.C., *Guide to the Monuments of Kashmir.*

Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the *Sri Partap Singh Museum*, Srinagar, 1923.

Knowles, Dr. Hinton, *Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings*, 1885.

Knowles, J.H., *Folk-Tales of Kashmir*, London, 1893.

Kalhana, *Rajatarangini: a Chronicle of the Kings af Kashmir*, trans. by M.A. Stein, 1900, 2 Vols. (Also see under Stein).

Knight, E.F., *Where Three Empires Meet*, Longmans, 1893.

Kanhya Lal, *Zafar-nama-i-Ranjit Singh*, Lahore, (In Persian Poetry).

Kipling, L., *Brass and Copperware*, Kashmir and Jammu Industries.

Khushi Muhammad Chaudhri, K.B., *Census Report* of Kashmir for 1921, Parts I and II, Mufid-i-Am Press, Lahore.

Kirpa Ram, Dewan, *Gulab Nama*, Jammu Press.

Gulzar-i-Kashmir, Jammu Press.

Kremer, Von, *The Orient Under the Caliphs*, Translated by S. Khuda Bukhsh, Calcutta University, 1920.

L

Lambert C., *Trip to Kashmir and Ladakh*, H.S. King, 1877.

Law, Narendra Nath, *Promotion of Learning in India During Muhammadan Rule (By Muhammadans)*, Longmans, 1916.

Lawrence, W.R., *The Valley of Kashmir*, London, 1895.

Leitner, Section 1 of Linguistic Fragments discovered in 1870, 1881.

Latif, S.M., *History of the Punjab*, 1891.

M

Marco Polo, *Travels*, 1904.

Matin-uz-Zaman Khan, *Census Report* of Kashmir for 1911, Newalkishore Press, Lucknow, 1912.

Morison, Margaret Cotter, *A Lonely Summer in Kashmir*, Duckworth, 1904.

Muhammad Din Fauq, *Mukammal Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Rifah-i-am Steam Press, Lahore, 1910.

Rahnuma-i-Kashmir, 1923, Paisa Akhbar, Lahore.

Safar Nama-i-Kashmir.

Allama Abdul Hakim Sialkoti, Paisa Akhbar, Lahore, 1924.

Shalamar Bagh, Paisa Akhbar, Lahore, 1924.
Massey, C.F., *Chiefs....*Punjab.
Mohi-ud-Din Miskin of Seraibal, *Tarikh-i-Kabir* (only one volume printed), Suraj Parkash Press, Amritsar, 1322 A.H.
Moorcroft, W., *Travels* in the Himalayan Provinces of Hindustan, and the Punjab, in Ladakh and Kashmir, etc., prepared for the Press by H.H. Wilson, Vols. I and II, John Murray, 1841.

N

Neve, E.F., *Beyond the Pir Panjal*, Church Missionary Society, London. 1915.
Neve, Dr. Arthur, *Picturesque Kashmir Sands*, 1900. *Guide*.
Newall, Lt. D.J.F., A Sketch of the Muhammadan History of Kashmir, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, September 1854.
Newall, Lt. Col., Some Account of the Rishis or Hermits of Kashmir, *J.A.S B.*, November, 1870.
Newall, Lt. Col., *Highlands of India*, London, (1882-87), 2 Vols.
Nizam-ud-Din, *Nizam-ul-Waqai*, (Persian MS.), 1301 Hijri.
Nizam-ud-Din Bukhshy, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, (Persian), 1229 Hijri.
Nicholls, W.H., Muhammadan Architecture in Kashmir, *Archaeological Survey Annual Report*, 1906-07.

O

Orlich, Leopold von, Kashmir, its Government contrasted with that of *Multan and Women*, London, Longmans, 1845, 2 Vols.
O'Connor, T.P., *The Charm of Kashmir*, Longmans, 1920.
Osborne, W.G , *Court and Camp of Ranjit Singh*, 1840.

P

Petrocokino, A., *Three Weeks in a Houseboat*, Longmans, 1920.
Prinsep, V.C., *Imperial India*, London, 1879, pp. 212-49.
Pirie, P., *Kashmir the Land of Streams and Solitudes*, Lane, 1908.

R

Rashidi, *See* under Haidar.
Risley, Sir Herbert, *The People of India*, ed. by W. Crooke, 1915.

Ratan Devi, (Compiler), *Thirty Songs from the Punjab and Kashmir*, 1912.

Royle, *Illustrations of the botany......natural history and flora of Kashmir*, 1839, 2 Vols.

Rodgers, C.J., The Square Silver Coins of the Sultans of Kashmir, *J.A.S.B.*, No. 2, 1885.

S

Saadat and Amir, *Hayat-i Jawid*, Partap Steam Press, Srinagar.

Sarkar, Prof. Jadu Nath, *History of Aurangzeb*, Vols. I—V, Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, 1924.

The India of Aurangzeb, Bose Brothers, Calcutta, 1901.

Studies in Moghul India, Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, 1919.

Mughal Administration, Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, 1924.

Shamim, R.B., Pt. Shiv Narain, *Kashmiri Music*, Zamana, Cawnpore November, 1916.

Shamim, R.B., Pt. Shiv Narain, *Kashmiri Pandit*, Urdu, 1895, Jullundur.

Sohan Lal, *Umdat-ut-Tawarikh*, Lahore.

Smith, V.A., *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Oxford,

Akbar, the Great Mughal, Oxford, 1919.

Stuart, C.M.V., *Gardens of the Great Moghals*, (Gardens of the Dal Lake), A. & C. Black.

Stein, M.A., *Kalhana's Rajatarangini*, 2 Vols. (also given under Kalhana), Constable, 1900.

Stein and Grierson, *Hatim's Tales*, John Murray, 1919.

T

Tavernier, *Travels in India*, Translation by Prof. V. Ball, 2 Vols., Macmillan, 1889.

Temple, *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim and Nepal*, 1887, 2 Vols.

Temple, Sir Richard, *The Word of Lalla the Prophetess*, C.U.P., 1924.

Tyndale-Biscoe, C.E., *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, Seeley, Service & Co. Ltd., 1922.

V

Vigne, G.T., *Travels in Kashmir*, Ladakh and Iskardo, Vols. I-II, 1842.

W

Wakefield, Dr. W., *The Happy Valley*, Low, 1879.

Wilson, H.H., *Travels in Himalayan Provinces*, London, Murray, 1841.

An Essay on the Hindu History of Kashmir in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, Mission Press, Serampur, 1825.

Warren, H.C., Buddhism, C.U.P., 1909, p. 306.

Workman & Workman, *Ice-bound Heights of the Mustagh*, 1908.

Wade, *Grammar of the Kashmiri Language*, 1888.

Wadia, A.S., *In the Land of Lala Rookh*, Dent, Lond. 1921.

Ward, *Geography* (Kashmir).

Wardle, *Silk Industries.*

Wright, Nelson, Catalogue of Coins in the *Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vols. II, III.

Y

Younghusband, Sir Francis, *Kashmir*, A. & C. Black, 1909, Reprinted 1917.

Z

Zakaullah, Maulvi, *History of India* (in Urdu), Vol. IV, pp. 1-58, 1897.

(*Note*: For Hijri and Christian Years Dr. Codrington's Table in *A Manual of Musalman Numismatics*, published by Royal Asiatic Society, Monograph, Vol. VII, 1904, has been used).

Index

D

E

T

U

V

W

